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## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### • BRIEFS

**CSSR, SOVIET ARTISTS' COOPERATION--**A working plan of creative cooperation for the year 1980 between the CSSR Union of Creative Artists and the USSR Union of Creative Artists was signed in Prague yesterday by national artist J. Malejovsky, chairman of the CSSR Union of Creative Artists, and by national artist of the USSR T. Salachov, first secretary of the Soviet creative artists' organization. The solemn act was attended by M. Muller, head of a CPCZ Central Committee department; M. Klusak, Czech minister of culture and by other representatives. Anatoliy Guskov, counselor of the USSR Embassy in the CSSR, was also present. The plan follows up the positive results of mutual cooperation achieved in the last few years. It envisages an exchange of exhibitions of the two countries' contemporary art--especially on the occasion of the days of Czechoslovak culture in the USSR and the days of Soviet culture in the CSSR--and creative and study sojourns of our and Soviet artists at joint symposiums and seminars. [Text] [Prague PRACE in Czech 19 Feb 80 p 3 AU]

**GDR STUDENTS IN USSR--**More than 13,000 GDR citizens have completed studies in the most varied fields of specialization in the USSR since 1951. This was noted in Leipzig on Thursday, 14 February 1980, at a meeting of GDR graduates of the Moscow Institute of Construction Engineers. The organizers of the exchange of experiences--the Leipzig Technical College and the Soviet institute--had concluded one of the first friendship agreements between colleges of the two countries over 20 years ago. [AU220850 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 15 Feb 80 p 2 AU]

CSO: 2300

**BULGARIA'S INVOLVEMENT IN AFRICA REVIEWED**

Sofia POLITICHESKA AGITATSIYA in Bulgarian No 1, 1980 pp 67-71

[Article by Dimitur Chorbazhiev: "Bulgaria and Africa"]

[Text] As a result of the breakdown of the imperialist colonial system, over 40 independent countries appeared in tropical Africa--over one-third of the so-called developing countries in the world. The struggle of the peoples of this area for freedom and independence developed into a struggle for the radical reorganization of socioeconomic and social relations, and for rejecting capitalism, along with imperialism, as a social system. This process reached its highest point in the creation of the People's Republic of Mozambique, the People's Republic of Angola, and Socialist Ethiopia. In these countries, relying on the international help of the fraternal parties and the members of the socialist comity, and above all the Soviet Union and Cuba, the leading movements in the national-liberation struggle, FRELIMO, the MPLA and VVAS, successfully dealt with external imperialist aggression and internal reaction, established their revolutionary democratic power and boldly undertook to create conditions for the building of a socialist society. Their victory is a manifestation of the historical change in the ratio of forces in the world in favor of socialism. A number of other countries are displaying the aspiration to follow this way.

Following the victory of the national-liberation forces against Portuguese colonialism, the total elimination of the vestiges of colonialism, racism and apartheid in the southern part of the African Continent was placed on the agenda. The struggle waged by the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa under the leadership of their vanguard movements--the Zimbabwe Patriotic Front, the People's Organization of South-West Africa (Namibia) and the African National Congress of South Africa (which acts in close cooperation with the Communist Party of South Africa)--is backed by their natural allies, the members of the socialist comity, and by all progressive forces in Africa and throughout the world.

Imperialism has not become reconciled with its defeats suffered so far in tropical Africa any more than elsewhere in the world. It is making tremendous efforts to regain its lost positions, defend its strategic military

and economic interests, and to stop and, if possible, turn back the revolutionary process on the continent. To this effect the imperialist forces are using both the means of their old colonial arsenal and new, more modern ones. The wedge of their policy is directed, above all, against the countries which have chosen a socialist orientation of development and countries which are systematically pursuing an anti-imperialist policy.

The Bulgarian Communist Party and the Bulgarian People's Republic are pursuing a consistent policy of moral, political and material aid to the peoples fighting for their national liberation, and for the independent political and economic development of the young developing countries. This policy stems from the principles of proletarian internationalism, which the BCP has invariably followed since it was created under the guidance of Dimitur Blagoev and Georgi Dimitrov.

Bulgarian policy pays particular attention to the countries which have chosen a socialist way of development, countries engaged in progressive socioeconomic changes, and all developing countries which are making their contribution to the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism, racism and apartheid, and which support the policy of peace, security and international cooperation of the Soviet Union and the entire socialist comity.

The relations between the BCP and Bulgarian People's Republic with the peoples of tropical Africa (Africa south of the Sahara) trace their origin from the time when these nations were struggling for their national liberation. Our party and state have provided, and continue to provide the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia, and South Africa selfless, comprehensive help for the definitive removal of colonialism, racism and apartheid from African soil, and for truly free, independent and democratic development. This policy has earned the BCP, Bulgaria and, personally, Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee first secretary and chairman of the Bulgarian People's Republic State Council, exceptionally high prestige in this vast African area, which includes over 40 countries with a population close to 250 million.

The respect enjoyed by our homeland was vividly expressed in the warm welcome given Comrade Todor Zhivkov in Nigeria, Angola, Mozambique and Socialist Ethiopia, which he visited in October 1978. In the course of this visit, as in other meetings with Comrade Todor Zhivkov, noted African leaders have expressed their warm gratitude for this profoundly internationalist and selfless aid. In Luanda, capital of the People's Republic of Angola, the now-deceased president, Antonio Agostinho Neto, stated that the BCP has always responded "with the greatest possible attention" and given "the Angolan people everything needed for its struggle." Samora Machel, president of the People's Republic of Mozambique, noted that "the Bulgarian People's Republic is a reliable bastion in the struggle waged by the peoples for freedom, peace, security, progress and socialism. The peoples fighting for their liberation find in it firm international solidarity and

support." Luis Kabral, president of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde and deputy secretary general of the PAIGC [African Independence Party of Guinea and Cape Verde] recently pointed out, in one of his statements in the course of his visit to our country, "The victory of the people of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde Islands for their freedom and national independence is also a victory of the international policy of the BCP."

The relations developed with Mozambique's FRELIMO, Angola's MPLA, the PAIGC of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde Islands, UNIP [United National Independence Party] in Zambia, and other national-liberation movements during the struggle have developed into intergovernmental relations after the peoples of these countries acquired their national independence. The Bulgarian People's Republic, together with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries, are developing relations of friendship and mutually profitable cooperation with the new, independent African countries which were founded on the ruins of the British, French and Portuguese colonial empires, assisting them in their struggle for the defense of their national sovereignty, territorial integrity and independent political and economic development.

Currently the Bulgarian People's Republic is maintaining diplomatic relations with over 30 countries in tropical Africa and Bulgarian embassies have been opened in 12 of them.

The countries which have chosen a socialist orientation of development hold a particular position in our country's tropical African policy. The programmatic documents of FRELIMO, the party of the peoples of Mozambique, the MPLA, the party of the people of Angola, and the Labor Party and Provisional Military Administrative Council of Socialist Ethiopia express the will to develop as vanguard organizations of workers and peasants, on a class basis, and build a society founded on Marxism-Leninism, relying on the experience and aid of, and cooperation with, the members of the socialist comity. Thus for the first time in tropical Africa, scientific socialism is becoming the ideology of parties and movements in power. Unquestionably this is of great historical significance to the development of the revolutionary process in Africa.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov's October 1978 visit marked the beginning of a new stage in our relations with the three countries. This stage is defined above all by the friendship and cooperation treaties initialed with Angola and Mozambique, and the Declaration of Friendship and Cooperation with Socialist Ethiopia. This raised the intergovernmental relations with these countries to a higher level.

The treaties and the declaration emphasize that relations among the contracting parties are based on Marxism-Leninism and the principles of proletarian internationalism, that they have resolved to assist one another in strengthening the revolutionary and socialist gains of their peoples and in the creation of the most favorable conditions for the building of socialism.

The study of the treaties and the declaration shows that they establish a new type of relations between Bulgaria and these countries, relations of countries sharing a common ideology and common national and international objectives and tasks.

The treaties, the declaration and the communiques with the three countries express a common understanding of the role of the socialist comity as the main factor for national liberation and social progress in our age, and the decisive role of the alliance among the socialist countries, the working class in the developed countries and the national-liberation movement for a historical process of change in the ratio of forces in the contemporary world in favor of peace and socialism. Mozambique, Angola and Ethiopia have either identical or similar positions to those of the members of the socialist comity on all basic problems of the contemporary international situation. They support the efforts of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries to strengthen the peace and security, and for disarmament, and their initiatives aimed at the practical accomplishment of these objectives. All three condemned China's aggression against the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, defended the international aid given by Vietnam to the people of Kampuchea to reject the yoke of the Pol Pot clique supported by Beijing, and recognized the People's Republic of Kampuchea. In the movement of nonaligned countries all three are struggling for the preservation and intensification of its anti-imperialist direction, and for the unification of all progressive forces in the movement for the struggle against the aspirations and intrigues of imperialist and reactionary forces and their assistants to use it for their objectives hostile to the interests of the nations.

Our country maintains full unity with Mozambique, Angola and Ethiopia on the question of the total elimination of colonialism, racism and apartheid in the southern part of the African Continent, and for defeating the attempts of the imperialist forces to impose a neocolonial solution in Zimbabwe and Namibia.

In addition to these three countries, Bulgaria is developing relations on a mutually profitable basis with other countries which have chosen a socialist orientation of development, such as the People's Republic of Guinea, People's Republic of the Congo, People's Republic of Benin, the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, and the Democratic Republic of Madagascar. These countries, like the United Republic of Tanzania and some others, developing the so-called mixed economy in their internal policies, are engaged in profound socioeconomic and social changes aimed at restricting the role of foreign and local capital, enhancing production forces and insuring the more equitable distribution of the national wealth. In the course of their international activities they too are supporting the peace-loving policy of the members of the socialist comity. They favor international cooperation and the elimination of all forms of national and racial oppression.

Bulgaria is developing active relations also with tropical African countries which, even though following the capitalist way, are implementing a

variety of measures aimed at restricting exploitation by foreign capital, and are taking possession of their own natural resources.

The development of economic and scientific and technical cooperation is a particularly important area of relations with tropical African countries, alongside measures for strengthening and expanding political relations. This is based on the principle of reciprocal advantages and interests. A firm international legal foundation has already been laid for its development.

"Basic Directions for Economic and Scientific and Technical Cooperation Through 1990" have been concluded with Ethiopia, Mozambique and Tanzania. Agreements for economic and scientific and technical cooperation, trade agreements, accords for cooperation in agriculture and for the work of Bulgarian specialists, and a number of others, regulating cooperation in a great variety of fields, have been concluded with a large number of countries.

Our country is developing most rapidly and extensively its economic and scientific and technical cooperation with the countries following a socialist orientation and, above all, Angola, Mozambique and Ethiopia, as well as Tanzania, Nigeria and Ghana.

Like other developing countries, the countries in tropical Africa show particular interest in the Bulgarian experience in economic development, and particularly the development of agriculture. This interest is due, above all, to the fact that in the past Bulgaria was one of the most backward countries in Europe; in 35 years of socialist revolution it has become a developed industrial-agrarian country which is already successfully building a mature socialist society.

The young independent countries see in the Bulgarian example the advantages of the socialist system, and the power and effectiveness of the help of, and cooperation between our country and the Soviet Union and the fraternal members of the socialist comity.

A great variety of forms of cooperation are applied with the countries in tropical Africa. Meetings between leading party and state officials, and permanent contacts on the governmental level are of exceptional importance. In a single year Comrade Todor Zhivkov has met with six state leaders from tropical Africa. The creation of mixed government commissions play a very important role in the development of economic and scientific and technical cooperation.

Intensive meetings are being held between heads of leading economic institutes and organizations. An ever larger number of direct contacts are being established between respective ministries and foreign-trade and engineering organizations. Relations between trade-union, youth and women's movements and organizations are broadening.

On the basis of the concluded intergovernmental treaties and other specific agreements, the Bulgarian People's Republic is assigning its specialists to the developing countries to help in the various realms of social life, train national cadres and share experience. All in all, currently close to 600 Bulgarian specialists are at work in tropical Africa.

Hundreds of young people from these countries are attending higher educational institutions and other educational institutions, mastering required skills.

The creation of mixed enterprises, and design and study bureaus, and the implementation of joint projects are important means for the sharing of Bulgaria's experience.

The mutually useful and profitable cooperation with the countries in tropical Africa is already yielding rich results.

The national theater in Lagos (Nigeria), which has become the center of the cultural and spiritual life of the capital and the entire country, was built with Bulgarian technical aid and specialists. In Tanzania, Bulgarian specialists built a leather treatment plant which processes 40 percent of the raw hides produced by the country. In 1978, in Mozambique they grew 40,000 tons of rice, or nearly 50 percent of the overall rice production of the country. Naturally, the Bulgarian specialists do not work by themselves, but in close cooperation with their colleagues in the corresponding countries, sharing their experience and learning from them.

The results of the cooperation between Bulgaria and the young, independent countries in tropical Africa confirms the loyalty and viability of the basic policy pursued by the BCP toward them. This policy is invariably aimed at the total elimination of the vestiges of colonialism, racism and apartheid, and toward strengthening the political and economic independence of the countries in the area in the interest of mutually profitable cooperation, and peace and security in Africa and throughout the world.

5003

CSO: 2200

**EDITORIAL EVALUATES 1979 RESULTS OF NATIONAL ECONOMY**

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 28 Jan 80 p 1

[Editorial: "Making All-Out Use of Reserves"]

[Text] On the last two days of the past week, we published the report of the Federal Statistical Office and the report of the Slovak Statistical Office. The first contained a review of the development of the national economy and of the plan fulfillment in the CSSR, and the second a review for the Slovak Socialist Republic. Our public is regularly presented with a number of extraordinarily important numerical and percentage data which reflect the development of our economy and plan fulfillment in the previous year. They compare the actual reality with last year's plan targets, and also the dynamics of growth in 1979 with 1978. They offer a well-rounded picture of the advancement of our society. It is kind of a mirror which reflects both the beautiful features and also the smallest cosmetic defects at the same time. This is the reason why not everybody is fond of looking into the mirror of statistics.

Almost every one of us can find his share in the entire complex of data-- by the results of our work in the production of values or personal and social consumption, in receiving various types of social incomes, in deposits to savings accounts, in contracting loans and so on.

As the report of the Federal Statistical Office stated "the development of the national economy in 1979 essentially coincided with the intentions of the Sixth Five-Year Plan...The plan fulfillment was accompanied with extraordinary difficulties. The fuel-energy problems at the beginning of the year and a poorer agricultural crop further complicated the already complex situation brought about primarily by developments in foreign markets." Despite more difficult conditions, CSSR industrial production increased 3.7 percent over the 1978 level, while engineering production increased more rapidly than the average for the entire industrial sector. Production increased particularly in the development programs, chemical industry and some other sectors based on the domestic raw materials. In the building industry, the fulfillment of the plan was among other things adversely affected by the already well-known and in recent years systematically criticised unpreparedness of construction sites and

inadequate design of projects, and also by not always proper organization and management of some construction enterprises. In agriculture, because of poorer crops and insufficient attention to domestic fodders, considerable quantities of fodder had to be imported above the plan. As to the CSSR foreign trade, commodity exchange with the CEMA member countries, for example, increased 9.1 percent in comparison with 1978. The planned growth rate was generally achieved in CSSR exports and imports. The engineering industry, however, did not fulfill its export plan. Although it exported more goods than in 1978, it failed to meet the plan targets, and the deficits in export of engineering products had to be made up for by increased exports from other sectors, particularly by the consumer industry.

The mirror of statistics reveals also that 1.6 percent more funds were invested in the national economy than in 1978. Many new production and non-production capacities were put into operation. Not all capital investment projects, however, were completed and production from them, anticipated by the last year's plan, is, therefore, missing not only on the domestic market and in exports, but also in the cooperative shipments of production enterprises. Moreover, if we take into consideration the fact that the comprehensive index of import prices on the foreign markets increased approximately 18 percent during the December 1978-December 1979 period, we can readily see how all this, in view of our relatively high import requirements, aggravated also the solution of our domestic economic problems. Yet, despite all these complex economic conditions, dynamic development was achieved in the principal directions, production increased and the living standard of our population further improved in some respects. After all, the monetary income of the Czechoslovak population increased 3.6 percent and social consumption 4.4 percent in comparison with 1978--as was analyzed in detail in the reports of the Federal and Slovak Statistical Offices.

Nevertheless, despite several convincingly favorable results, our economic development encountered many problems last year which we have already mentioned, and experienced some shortages which did not have to assume the proportions they did. Despite all complexities of the given situation, substantially better results could have been achieved if we had made better use of available opportunities. Where do our insufficiently used reserves lie? First, the assortment structure of industrial production and quality of some products do not meet the requirements and needs of the domestic and foreign markets. Second, the results in savings and more efficient utilization of energy, raw and industrial materials, and fodders are still inadequate. Third, the effect of scientific-technological progress as the principal source of our economic growth is still insufficient. Fourth, we have still not achieved the desirable and inevitable change in capital investment. Fifth, we have not yet achieved the planned efficiency, thus the smaller production of national income slowed down the growth rate of used national income. At the same time, the question arises whether these are all new facts, new sources of reserves which we failed to mobilize and properly use. He who carefully follows and studies the party documents,

however, finds in them a clear-cut answer to these questions, beginning with the 15th CPCZ Congress and CPSL Congress. Even then and at every subsequent plenary session of the CPCZ and CPSL Central Committee, special attention was paid to these questions. In other words, these are not new problems, only the urgency of their solutions has changed--intensified--because of external economic relations. It is enough to mention another fact that the prices of goods which we import from the capitalist states increased three times as much last year as the prices of goods which we export there. Although the number of products included in the first-quality grade and also of products meeting world standards has been increasing from year to year--the improvements are carried out very slowly, at a snail's pace. This precisely should be realized by the workers in scientific research and preproduction stages generally, and management centers should analyze and find the reserves in efficiency of their work. The plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee in May 1974 which dealt with scientific-technological progress comprehensively analyzed and pointed out the directions of solution which were fully confirmed by the 15th CPCZ Congress. The resolutions of the above-mentioned plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee were worked out in detail by the enterprises and according to all indications put into a safe in many instances. It is certainly high time to refer to this document again and uncompromisingly check on its implementation. Obviously, the inadequate effect of scientific-technological progress on increasing the economic efficiency of our national economy is precisely due to the insufficient fulfillment of tasks specified in this party document which is and will continue to remain important in the future.

It was no accident that the 14th plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee in December 1979 stated that additional changes had taken place in world markets within the last four years among which particularly a new round of increases in the prices of raw materials, fuels, energy and food had exceeded the scope anticipated by the socialist countries. This development further underlined our own shortcomings in overall efficiency, effectiveness, slow practical application of latest scientific-technological achievements and general adaptability of our economy to the more demanding conditions. Although the innovation cycle has somewhat accelerated in our country, it is still inadequate, the increase in the technical-economic standards of products and production technologies has been slow, and the road from research to development and to production takes too long.

This also was the reason, why in his concluding statement to the 14th plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee, Comrade Husak emphasized that an inseparable part of the effort to render management more efficient must become "the improvement of our work, particularly in the implementation and checks on the fulfillment of adopted resolutions. Part of it also is the need of increasing personal responsibility of every worker and of calling him to account for the nonfulfillment of tasks..."

The enterprises, VNIJ [economic production units] and finally also individual ministries--for the entire sector under their supervision--are now working on the annual analyses of economic results achieved last year. These analyses should draw a sharp dividing line between the effect of objective and subjective causes. The party organizations should uncompromisingly determine who--and to what extent--contributed to the achieved successes and also to the undesirable failure in specific instances.

With the new party membership cards, the communists also assume new obligations. As always in the past, they must be in the forefront of the common effort in coping with the tasks of the last year of the Sixth Five-Year Plan. And they should remember the words of Comrade Husak at the 14th plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee: "Our resources and possibilities, when properly used, constitute a solid basis for accomplishing our future tasks."

10501

CSO: 2400

INDRA CALLS FOR INDIVIDUAL ACCOUNTABILITY

Prague ZIVOT STRANY in Czech No 1, 2 Jan 80 pp 10-12

[Article by Alois Indra, member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (CPCZ) and chairman of the Federal Assembly of the CSSR: "Communists"; Portions within slant lines in bold type]

[Text] In connection with the exchange of CPCZ membership cards, every one of us reconsidered the importance of the name communist for his own benefit and also for the benefit of others. We realized again the responsibility which the adherents of the organized political vanguard of the working class and other working people have. Every one of us, whether his party membership is figured in tens of years or in a much more modest time span, should systematically ask himself (and not only in discussions): what more do we have to achieve in order to raise the party organism to the level where it can cope with tasks which are increasingly demanding with the years.

Practical life tests the political maturity and ideological consciousness of the communist constantly and not only in crisis situations, as for instance in 1966. Party membership obliges us, day after day, month after month, year after year to cut a path toward new and therefore more efficient use of work methods; to persuade, educate, organize, to fight tenaciously against shortcomings and unmask the intrigues of enemies of socialism. This means to implement continuously as part of the party's political activity organs and organizations as well as every communist's activity the well-known Lenin idea that "the heroism of steady and indefatigable organizational work on a statewide scale is incomparably more difficult but also incomparably superior to the heroism of an uprising."<sup>\*</sup>

This everyday, seemingly ordinary and therefore inconspicuous heroism has its source in communist reliance on ideological principles, reflected in overall knowledge, firm conviction and, by necessity, therefore, also in their way of life and especially in practical activity. If we rightly assert that the communist party is a party of the Leninist type as long as

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<sup>\*</sup>V. I. Lenin, "Selected Works," Vol 4, p 27.

it follows the principle of Marxism-Leninism, then it is irrefutably true that a person is a genuine communist only if he or she participates actively in the life of the party and if he or she contributes with all his ability to the fulfillment of party tasks and resolutions. One without the other is lifeless, formalistic. It can be expressed also in this way: either you are a communist and political activity must then be a permanent personal commitment. If you are passive, then you should not be in the party since you are only an unnecessary burden. The party does not need any "registered members," but active fighters for the realization of its political line.

Like any other phenomenon, party life is tied to social life. The party's most essential mission as a political vanguard is to influence this social life, relying on an indepth understanding of its lawlike characteristics. In this respect a continued strengthening of party ranks, party unity, unity of organization and discipline, of ideas, will and thought as well as unity of common interests and aims are of fundamental importance. This unity turns every party organization into a strong collective, capable of action. This unity separates organizational effort from spontaneity, party spirit from political indifference and resolutions collectively effected and implemented from subjectivism.

We are now, figuratively speaking, reaching one step higher. It cannot be otherwise. Since the requirements and tasks are higher, the responsibility and activity of the communists must also be higher. During discussions at the time of the CPCZ membership card exchange this was a directly proportioned equation, continuously being solved. It cannot be tolerated that a person will be a communist only at his work place or even only at the party meeting. Communist conviction and activity cannot be limited by time or place, it cannot be shed like a topcoat. We have to act like communists always and everywhere--where people dwell and interact, when being transported, in restaurants or shops, wherever public opinion is formed.

Communists are not and will never be "apologists" for disorder and shortcomings. However, if anyone demagogically misuses our problems to attack socialism, party members must emerge as fighters; must intervene, explain and defend our policy, and "straighten out" the thinking of people. The everyday struggle for fulfillment of the state economic plan, struggle with the problems accompanying the construction of a truly historic socialist undertaking as well as the agonizing and difficult transformation of people's thinking along socialist lines--this is the communist method. In this the importance and weight of the communist name are tested and a person really becomes a communist in the process of this struggle. The maturing of a person as a revolutionary begins essentially with his or her becoming a member of the communist party organization, with enrollment in the party's ranks. That person can become an educated party member by mastering the theoretical source of the party's practical policy, Marxism-Leninism. A person becomes a communist, however, worthy of that most honorable name only by practicing this Marxist-Leninist teaching and Marxist-Leninist ideals as well as by implementing party policy in everyday life.

These, and only these, criteria were valid during the discussion on the occasion of the CPCZ membership card exchange and every basic party organization must evaluate the work of every member accordingly. We must solve specific tasks and problems with much greater energy and firmness. People do not expect to have from communist information about how things are constantly more intricate, exacting, difficult and complicated, but how we are all together going to solve them. In practice, it means to turn to active work, or, as we often say, to the "work offensive," to specific political and economic measures. Otherwise, we would find ourselves in an unenviable situation where Lenin's words would fit us perfectly: "You have communist principles and good ideals--you are like living saints, who belong in paradise--but do you understand practical work?"\*

The CPCZ Central Committee again stressed during its 14th plenum the primary importance for socialism's destiny of developing the economy and realizing the social program, including development of the living standard. The requirement of high-quality organization of labor emerges in first place as well as a struggle against those who do not fulfill their work obligations, which is an economic and political struggle at one and the same time. Every claim to one's rights must be accompanied by fulfilling one's obligations toward society. Discipline and democracy are not mutually exclusive. Lack of discipline, however, means anarchy, which has nothing at all in common with democracy.

The action unity of the entire party, of every one of its organizations, and the example given by individual communists in their environment are of great importance for this unified advance on the economic front. Not only on the economic front, however. Also a unified advance against all disorders which cause us all considerable losses and bitterness. We appreciate tremendously every one who contributes more to society's benefit than to personal duties prescribed by law. It is, however, of primary and principal importance for everyone--for all--to fulfill their basic work and social obligations. Work not completed by some will either remain undone or will have to be done by others.

The requirement of constant concern about the political health of the entire party organism is also tied to this. To be sure, the party, the overall level of intraparty relations, the level of party life, its democratism, efficient organization, discipline, consciousness and competence are a model for a gradual formation of relations within all of society. And it is precisely because of this important moral-political and ideological-educational party impact in society that the party and every one of its members are confronted, without the possibility of any compromise at all, by the directive of the 15th CPCZ Congress: "We have always to bear in mind the

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\*V. I. Lenin, "Selected Works," Vol. 5, p 515.

party's honor, its clean reputation. Communists must serve as examples in their work, their dealings, in their whole life. They must be convinced, active fighters for the party's policy. The party cannot have in its ranks those who do not fulfill their work obligations, grossly violate its statutes and misuse the membership card for their selfish, careerist aim, thus harming the name and authority of the party."

The party is not an abstract concept whose name is handy to produce during celebrations. It is a living political organism. It is true, one or two of its members do not represent the party, but even one individual, especially if he is a political, state or economic official, can by incorrect behavior considerably harm the party's authority and make its political role in society even more difficult. Neither is the communist party, like every living organism, immune against all kinds of parasites. The more resolutely, therefore, does it have to cleanse itself from all that harms its "health."

The directive to guard the purity of party ranks has still broader and more important implications. It is well known that the leading position of the working class and its vanguard--the communist party--is among the primary and unalterable lawlike features of socialism. This leading position of the working class and its party, even though an objective concept, does not mean in the least that it operates spontaneously and by inertia. On the contrary! Since the leading role of the working class and the communist party is one of the lawlike features of the development of socialism, it must also be scientifically maintained as an objective characteristic, wisely utilized, enforced, constantly renewed, enhanced and improved.

Any spontaneous, insensitive, authoritarian, incoherent, administrative or even bureaucratic assertion of this lawlike feature infringes upon the working class itself and its party as well as all other basic values and principles of socialism: the socialist state as an instrument of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Marxist-Leninist ideology, socialist societal ownership of the means of production and the principles of planned management of the economy as well as the principles and practice of socialist and proletarian internationalism.

Therefore, the party must preserve its role of the brain and general staff of the working class and society as a whole, in a constant struggle for the revolutionary activism of its own organism as well as that of the masses.

The directive of such political importance and urgency cannot of course be disposed of by a resolution however good it may be. We are not lacking such resolutions, intentions and specific tasks, which were formulated on the basis of completed discussions during the exchange of CPCZ membership cards. What do we need the most, however? We have to pay much more attention on all levels of the party organism to the control of what has been done. Every communist must answer for his work, not only to the yearly membership

meeting of his basic organization or, even, every 10 years, during the exchange of the party card. A regular control of what has really been achieved is now the main task of party organs and organizations.

The fact that the CPCZ, as is the case with other fraternal parties in the socialist countries, has a mass results from its being the political organization of the working class, the main productive force of society, a decisive carrier of socialist production relations and the leading political force of society. It also results from its assembling in the party ranks the most active citizens of the entire society. But despite its mass character, the party must remain a selective political organization because of a truly historic mission which has been assigned to it: to be always, under all circumstances, in every situation, the genuine vanguard of the working class and all the people; to be the best organized and best disciplined detachment and to act in society as the most mature and conscious political force. It is rightly said that he who was entrusted with much is expected to deliver much. And the communist party is entrusted with decisive political functions. Hence the justifiably high demands of all of society from the party, its organs, organizations and individual communists.

In the CPCZ, together with candidate-members, there are 1.5 million of us--one-tenth of all CSSR inhabitants. This represents a great political influence. A great influence, provided it grows--and we need continued, more impressive growth--if all, really all, those who in January will accept the CPCZ membership cards, including candidate-members, will become bearers of the party influence everywhere, literally, where people live and work.

Let us not fool ourselves--because what would the party be worth without a critical observation directed at its own ranks?--about the fact that some members when faced with difficulties "wither," become discouraged and seems to steal away from the scene. They lack courage to face openly the problems and difficulties, do not show firm convictions and do not have enough resolve to carry out the party's policy. We should always remember the admonition of Klement Gottwald not to become too cocky in success and not to lose our heads in failure! We, of course, know our own shortcomings much better than all our critics, we see the difficulties and are overcoming them, even if not easily. We see and know the ways to lead our socialist society to further progress and improvement.

We communists, and with us certainly all honest followers of socialism of both our nations and other nationalities, respect the revolutionary traditions of the past as well as those which are born in the great era we live in, from the struggle which we are daily leading for the well-being and happiness of man. We indeed have good reason for our optimism. The example of veterans, founders of our communist party, communist of the older generations, their firm will, courage and unshakeable confidence in victory are a constant stimulus to us. The party was their whole life, they remained faithful to it in times of great trials, in prisons, during persecutions as well as under

malicious attacks of renegades, opportunists and revisionists of all kinds. When they joined the communist party they could not know that the Soviet army would liberate this country in 1945. They could not know that in February 1948 the decisive battle with the bourgeoisie would be fought and won. Nevertheless, their faith in the party, in final victory was firm, because it was a staunch faith, combined with active political struggle. Let us master and teach the young party members such an attitude toward the party as well as personal responsibility toward it, and for the mission which it fulfills in our society.

The party has always been here for the working man, the entire people, for his happy life which of course is daily created by honest work alone. The party has never been unfaithful to this noble mission. And problems we are facing cannot confuse us and lead us astray from the chosen path. We are aware that even these difficulties only prove that during the implementation of the party's political line something has not been done as required and many things were done superficially and irresponsibly.

There is no other way but to require from every communist a more evident relationship to the party, greater responsibility or, better to say, shared responsibility during the realization of its truly historic mission. Let us spare no effort in order to become worthy bearers of new party cards and under all circumstances to live up to the glorious name: communist.

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CSO: 2400

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

CITIZENS' APPEAL RIGHTS ANALYZED

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 16, 30 Jan 80 p 2

[Report from Berlin: "GDR Citizens Should Avail Themselves of Right of Appeal." A translation of the Potsdam-Babelsberg STAAT UND RECHT article discussed below follows this commentary]

[Text] East Berlin's professional journal STAAT UND RECHT [No 1/80] has backed the right of GDR citizens to appeal state decisions. Even making an appeal to administrative procedures should logically be called an exercise of civic rights. For that reason anyone making one was not a "grumbler, but a personality" exercising his right to participating in the shaping of legal relations. No other position, the journal asserted, would be in line with the "socialist character of all administrative law." A complainant's purpose to have a state decision modified or canceled also reflected a social concern, that of the citizens' control over the activities of the state organs. The East Berlin paper in this context advocated a codification embracing all legal remedies and their constitutional principles because it would meet the demand for also rendering administrative law more intelligible and could more rapidly and safely end any concrete action between citizens and the administration.

Citizens and Legal Redress

Potsdam-Babelsberg STAAT UND RECHT in German Vol 29 No 1, Jan 80 signed to press 26 Nov 79 pp 13-23

[Article by Dr Wolfgang Bernet, Political Science and Jurisprudence Department, Friedrich Schiller University, Jena: "Realization of Socialist Legality in Government Administration Through Legal Remedy." With reference to footnote 14, a translation of the 1979 STAAT UND RECHT article is available in JPRS 74723, 6 Dec 79, No 1744 of this series, pp 28-40]

[Text] The role any branch of law plays within our unified socialist legal system largely depends on its social effectiveness. For the

administrative law and its institutions it is characteristic from that vantage point that it stands right in the frontline in the shaping of government-citizens relations which is so crucially important in socialism. Within this field of reference the functional aspect of administrative law can develop most clearly. That would imply, it seems to me, that administrative law also should include the legal relations of internal administration and of the organs of the government apparatus to enterprises, cooperatives, facilities and so forth. The most important factor in our society, however, is and remains the citizen. His positive involvement in the socialist state serves the forming of his personality. With that in turn is connected the overriding problem of further strengthening the state and society, indissolubly.<sup>1</sup>

The realization of socialist legality in government administration constitutes a central concern of administrative jurisprudence and practical government activity. The remedies of administrative law are institutionally important to it. The remedies form a point of intersection in the shaping of the relations between the organs of the government apparatus and the citizens. They help realize legal security and the principle of attaching government organs to the law which goes with it.<sup>2</sup> Precise work with remedies and their constitutional provisions aids in the legality with which government organs act and leads to further development of an atmosphere of trust in the relations between the government and the citizens.

#### Striking Features in the Development of Remedies in GDR Administrative Law

It is necessary to take a look at GDR history to analyze the current situation of remedies and show further developments that may be possible for them.

Our remedies were taken over after 8 May 1945 from a number of standard enactments of the capitalist era and applied to insure legality during the antifascist-democratic order emerging. Simultaneously, government organs at that time enacted new norms that set down remedies to be used in the implementation of democratic legality. This process of legal enactments continued systematically after the GDR was founded. In the now more than 30 years that our socialist state has been in existence the remedies of administrative law and their procedural provisions have always been duly handled and applied by the organs of the government apparatus. Especially the citizen received extensive legal protection from the organs of the state apparatus in all mandatory decisions. For the present it must be granted that the competent organs of the workers and farmers power in principle do apply the remedies through standard enactments issued by them and which provide for obligatory decisions individual in nature and for measures directed at their addressees (citizens, government organs, enterprises, cooperatives, affiliations and others). No unified codification of remedial procedure exists to this day, however, although there are some common procedural regulations.

The standardization and practical implementation of redress aim to grant an addressee concretely obligated by individual decision or by a measure from an organ of the government apparatus to appeal against them in a binding and formal manner. The organ that has made the decision or taken the measure thereupon is duty-bound to reexamine the legality and (or) suitability of its action and formally to inform the citizen who has made the appeal about the outcome. Thereby remedies play the role of correctives in assuring the legality of the government administration.

In the theoretical studies on legal redress at the time of the anti-fascist-democratic transformation and in the years when the foundations of socialism were laid, the new quality of the relations between the organs of the government apparatus and the addressees was not always yet made adequately visible. From the way I look at it, that applies in particular to the citizen, whose crucial role in the shaping of administrative law relations was not sufficiently brought out in comparison with other addressees. Redress was offered to the citizen still too much as a means of defense against decisions or measures by the government apparatus. That, it seems to me, could not yet adequately explain the new position the citizen had assumed as a participating subject in administrative law relations. The function attributed to redress in shaping the relations between the organs of the government apparatus and the citizens and in their conscious integration within the body politic as a whole had not, conceptually, reached its full maturity nor could it have done so due to the developmental conditions of socialist construction.

Redress in administrative law--although it existed--fell, in scientific analysis, behind other institutions the young workers and farmers power created. Those were the suggestions and complaints that were later given the general term "petitions."<sup>3</sup>

Jurisprudence and the practical work of the government organs since 1953 mainly concentrated on enforcing the "Suggestion and Complaint Order" of 6 February 1953.<sup>4</sup> Universal principles of a general citizens' right to suggestions and complaints, based on the GDR Constitution of 7 October 1949, were presented by that legal source,<sup>5</sup> which however, conceptually, did not absorb or did not want to absorb legal remedies. It should be noted that administrative jurisdictional studies then principally concentrated on the principles and mechanisms mentioned in that decree. Means of legal redress, by comparison, became merely peripheral.<sup>6</sup> Even government practice set less store by legal redress than by suggestions and complaints. My own investigations and inquiries have confirmed that emphatically. The effects of it were noticeable until recently in that a number of practitioners did not recognize legal redress in its specific function, often subsuming it, for instance, under the petitions.

In an historical assessment of such legal practice we must initially assume an affirmative position. The young state power, largely exercised by tried and tested workers--without any administrative skills, however--was, from the outset, intent on having the interests of the working people

listened to and taken into account. The main thing was to overcome the old mode of thinking in terms of petitions, which the bourgeois state had produced and degraded into meaninglessness, as an expression of cringing to government authority. Citizens had to come to think of themselves as active participants in government affairs as their own. The elitist bourgeois conception of government could not rapidly and automatically be expelled from consciousness. Eventually, the new quality of the workers and farmers state and its law also had to be comprehended and, above all, enforced by the people working in the government organs.<sup>7</sup> The suggestions and complaints as codified offered an intelligible means for doing so. Means of redress, however, were unevenly handled and came with all sorts of juridical formalities (deadlines, forms, competencies and so forth), which also made them more difficult to handle.

There is one remark in the literature that I think is significant. It says that the suggestions and complaints have one thing in common with means of redress to be sure: they all serve the enforcing of legality and the elimination of illegal measures. Means of redress had of course always an area of application that differs from that of the suggestions and complaints, or petitions if you will. On the basis of the new quality of the state and its law, and of the citizens' position, they were however no longer egoistic means of defense against presumed or actual law violations. This social concern must be given a positive formulation!

Sociologically speaking, among the persons seeking legal remedies there were of course also conservative forces that wanted to fight against or delay certain decisions and measures of the new type of government. This could, however, not vitiate the, in principle, positive understanding of legal redress. Purely on formal grounds, after all, the same kind of motivation might also have been behind the suggestions and complaints (petitions). What is worth emphasizing with respect to means of redress is that they serve to identify the individual and social interests and that they above all express the citizen's right to taking part in the shaping of legal relations. Even entering appeals in administrative procedure must resolutely be termed an exercise of a civic right because social interest is directed at forming active citizens. That social interest becomes apparent whenever an appeal is completely or even partly honored. In any event, the possibility of entering appeals sharpens the awareness of the organs that make decisions or take measures that they have to guarantee socialist legality. That is a highly positive consequence!

Looked at the historic development of means of redress in administrative law, it is found that they were held in the background even in the 1960's, particularly in scientific studies. The petition right played the dominant role. An enactment in 1969 pointed to the importance of legal redress and its being set off from petitions.<sup>8</sup> The People's Chamber, the Council of Ministers and some other central government organs rendered redress regulations partly more uniform in the early 1970's and created a clearer and more intelligible situation in this field of law.<sup>9</sup> The petition right also was revised.<sup>10</sup>

## Legal Redress to be Conceived Principally as a Civic Right

Here we do not primarily wish to discuss the procedural regulations for legal redress but raise a basic question touching on the conception of administrative law. An analysis of standard enactments in force indicates that for ruling on legal redress the point of departure is the principle of an addressee's being "affected" by an individual government decision binding in character or by a measure. Accordingly, the person "affected" has the possibility to appeal, by following specific formal regulations, to the agency that has made the decision or is responsible for the measure. My view as presented in the following--this much may be stated from the outset--does not primarily take exception to the term "the affected," but what is to be discussed, rather, is the theoretical question in administrative law whether it should not be necessary, according to the principles of developed socialism, to grant the citizen a special position also in legal redress procedure. When we look at the bourgeois law situation of the past and of today, it becomes clear that by juridically equating "natural" and "juridical" persons in most administrative proceedings the point is to formalize the addressees' legal relations with the administrative organs. The right of recourse, remonstrance, objection, complaint and other actions all the way to administrative law proceedings are structured in such a way that industrial corporations, institutions and so forth are formally placed on the same level as the citizens. That is one way, however, for covering up the class character of the bourgeois government organs and for pretending, through formal methods, that a condition exists which is not borne out by reality.

Through the GDR's petition right, the specific, exposed position of the citizens in this area is emphasized. They alone can submit petitions to the standard circle of addressers. Citizens' affiliations are held equal with individual citizens. This is an arrangement which I consider exemplary in general for conceptually approaching the solution of theoretical problems in administrative law. At this point I should like to stress again the functional aspect of administrative law, which is derived from the general function of socialist law. "As the most important administrative device of the socialist state, the special role of law as such, and of the basic socialist rights and duties in particular, lies specifically in promoting the development of social consciousness and of the conduct of men as the total social subject."<sup>11</sup> That kind of definition points to the irreplaceable position of the citizen in shaping and implementing administrative law. M. Benjamin, Machalz-Urban, Schulze and Sieber emphasize in their conceptual contribution that in the elaboration of uniform scientific principles for socialist administrative law the purpose must be "to determine especially the citizens' rights in administrative proceedings, the observance of legality by the competent authorities, the simplification of administrative work, and the working people's participation in administrative proceedings."<sup>12</sup> Such views, it seems to me, also imply that administrative law in general and its institutions must not be governed by some anonymous "addressee principle" or "principle of affectedness" and

other such principles. Socialist administrative law must rather seek to develop further all-around the citizens' position as participating socialist personalities. By way of a footnote we also may say that for the same reasons any efforts would fail in trying to develop a basic rights theory for socialist enterprises, cooperatives, institutions and so forth. In their positive bourgeois origin, basic rights were tied to the qualification "man" or "citizen." The socialist basic rights have brought that implication to realization on a higher level of social reality. Such a conception also determines the rules of principle given for the right of complaint in the 1977 USSR Constitution. There, the right of complaint, in chapter 7 (Basic Rights, Basic Freedoms and Basic Duties of the USSR Citizens), is granted solely and exclusively to the citizens.<sup>13</sup> Their real position in socialist society was thereby fully set down also in a special legal field. As I see it, the general problem of extolling the citizen in socialist law, in its institutions, administrative procedures and so forth, is part of the efforts of making subjective rights fully effective.<sup>14</sup>

These problems are under discussion, under various aspects, in the CEMA countries. Typical of it was a symposium held in Bulgaria on legal problems of administrative enactments (a prerequisite, thus, for legal redress) in the socialist economy. Right in G. Kostadinov's principal lecture it became clear that such enactments are different from those vis-a-vis citizens and that the provisions for a formal right of complaint or for court controls do not apply. "By logically extending these ideas, several participants from various CEMA countries pointed out in the discussion that one thus would have to differentiate qualitatively between governmental and enterprise planning decisions on the one side and administrative enactments by government organs for citizens, on the other. Whereas the legal position of the citizens concerns their socialist personality development and the protection of their constitutional rights, the economic management enactments mainly deal with legal authorities for effectively materializing the public property right."<sup>15</sup> Personality development in socialism and the guarantee of the citizens' basic rights are not matters that are asserted in opposition to the government organs, they are rather affirmed with them and through them.

As to the need for differentiating, I agree with Frank who, with respect to administrative law responsibility, carefully distinguishes between the citizen and the "juridical person."<sup>16</sup> From such a position the conclusion should of course not be drawn that administrative law exhausts its role in ruling on government-citizen relations. Even so, these are relations that differ in quality from any other administrative law relations, for which reason they have to be given a differentiated treatment.

This basic qualitative concern then also becomes clear through legal redress. That amounts to a special administrative law function making a special inroad on the general function of socialist administrative law. Boenninger and Schoenrath in 1972 took the citizens' right of

complaint in government administration in an all-inclusive sense (petitions and legal redress).<sup>17</sup> They left aside the problem, however, that not only citizens but all "affected" would have had recourse to legal redress in administrative law under the rulings and applications of the time. What seems to me, however, is that the need for differentiating must absolutely be derived from the functional role of socialist administrative law in society. That implies that legal redress--in analogy to petitions--should then also be available to citizens' affiliations. It is through these affiliations that most citizens exercise their basic right to participation. The social relevance of the affiliations' legal relations with the executive authoritative organs is substantively comparable to those of the citizens. Enterprises, cooperatives, combines, institutions and so forth, by comparison, have primarily a different function in socialist society. They mainly serve the fulfillment of the economic functions of the state. Of course, in them and through them working people also act in exercise of their right to participation, but with respect to its role as "addressee" or "affected" entity, the position of the enterprise with regard to decisions or measures differs fundamentally from that of the citizens. Enterprises exist only because the socialist state wants them to exist. The state defines their legal position and determines their tasks and duties. There thus is a natural difference between how the state affects those addressees and how it affects the citizens. The reaction by an enterprise to a government decision or measure, in my view, could not even be called legal redress because we have an entirely different frame of reference here. When enterprises register a reaction they submit an alternative for decisions or measures by a higher or otherwise competent organ. The activity of the State Contracts Court actually stems from that position.

In giving further thought to the development of legal redress and its procedures, it seems to me, this is the factor from which one should start. An all-inclusive codification of legal redress and its procedural principles certainly seems possible. It would help implement the demand for greater intelligibility of administrative law and for controls over administrative decisions and measures by the citizens and their affiliations. The formal procedural principles for legal redress could be kept simple so as to settle rapidly and safely any concrete litigation between a citizen (an affiliation) and an organ which, in the exercise of its legal competency, acts in executive authority. Proposals for it have been prepared.<sup>18</sup>

#### **Legal Redress Procedure as a Working Basis for Government Administrative Activity**

A careful study and analysis by the government administrative organs of legal redress procedure has by now become standard procedure in administrative activity. The government administrative organs increasingly realize that anyone resorting to legal redress--in case it is a citizen or affiliation of citizens--uses legal redress in implementing his (their) civic

rights. A citizen in a socialist state, as a matter of principle, does not show a rejecting or hostile posture to mandatory individual decisions and measures which he then could or would have to "fight against" by legal redress. The positive relationship, in principle, between the socialist state and the citizen is also made real, for all intents and purposes, through the manifold individual relations between the government organs and the citizens. Only if these premises are resolutely implemented, legal redress proceedings in government administrative activity are seen as an institutional mechanism that does not merely happen to exist but is worth cultivating. Someone who enters an appeal is not a grumbler but a personality exercising his right to taking part in the shaping of legal relations. No other position would be appropriate to the socialist character of all the administrative law as well as the means of redress.

A citizen who resorts to legal redress normally aims at having modified or canceled the individual decision or measure obligating him as issued to him, in exercise of government activity, on a legal basis. Such individual motivation also however expresses a social concern, that of the citizens' controlling the activities of their government organs on behalf of making socialist legality prevail. The heads of government organs can tell, from the number of appeals submitted and the ways and means of their being acted on, in which organs and processes such appeals are playing a special role. Even so, this remark should not be misunderstood in an undifferentiated sense to the effect, let us say, that wherever many appeals were submitted the work done is deficient. Most of the time it is a fact that socialist legality is consistently being enforced by means of administrative law (duties, administrative coercive measures, disciplinary fines and so forth). Surveys of my own practice have confirmed that emphatically. Where government organs, for instance, apply all legal means for enforcing construction discipline, a higher amount of duty and possibly disciplinary fines and monetary dues will, relatively speaking, be imposed than among organs that fail to react correctly to the same kinds of discipline violations.

I investigated the legal redress procedures in eight urban and rural kreises of three different bezirks. I found, among other things, that within one year in the area of the kreis construction offices (including the State Construction Directorate), 323 mandatory individual decisions had been passed against citizens. In 162 cases of them, appeals were entered, of which a total of 23 had success or partial success. This analysis permits the following conclusions:

(1) Initial decisions by government organs are so stable in quality that most citizens accept them.

(2) In cases where citizens felt treated improperly or inadequately, they called for legal aid from their government organs with full confidence and self-assurance, whereby they exercised their basic right to taking part in the shaping of administrative law relations.

(3) Successfully brought appeals had the effect that initial decisions were revised and the citizens' rights were guaranteed. The relatively small number of appeals also justifies the conclusion that the government organs were doing correct work.

The organizations handling the housing economy got 189 appeals within one year, of which 46 led to success (the figures always refer to all eight kreises). Legal redress evidently is used by many citizens for successfully insuring socialist legality as well as their own interests. From that and from other factors (the citizens' state of consciousness and degree of activity, order and discipline in the work of the government administrations themselves and so forth), the necessity results, it seems to me, to analyze legal redress procedures systematically. For petitions it has been found useful for years to make "petition analyses" following specific criteria. From these analyses the local state organs draw important conclusions for their administrative activities. These analyses disclose strong and weak points in government administrative activity, suggest what worries and problems the citizens have, and they finally also are a means for admitting additional tasks to the plans and improving expert direction given to subordinate organs.<sup>19</sup>

The practice that has proven itself so well with petitions hardly exists in the field of legal redress. There are two reasons for that essentially. For one thing, the importance of legal redress procedure for socialist legality is not yet recognized everywhere. And then it also still is often the case that appeals are listed as petitions under the subcategory of complaint. An accurate legal redress analysis can certainly help enforce the principles of administrative law standards. If appeals are identified with petitions, then it does not become clear enough what is specific to either of them. Legal redress serves the settling of a concrete case of conflict. It therefore also comes under different regulations and formalities from petitions. In the local state organs, precise legal redress analyses could strengthen the internal controls on the implementation of socialist legality. That concerns the council's control over the activities of its specialized organs as much as the control by the higher-echelon council or (and) its specialized organs over the activities of the subordinate councils or (and) their specialized organs. And even the supervisory control from the outside on the executive authority of the local state organs (by the Workers and Farmers' Inspectorate and the office of the attorney-general of the GDR) could be combined with legal redress analyses.

Essentially the same applies to centrally directed organs to which appeals may be submitted (e.g. the People's Police). There too legal redress is a focal point of activities and permits conclusions for the administration. And legal redress analyses also can be valuable aids for the decision-making activity.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Cf. "Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands" (SED Program), Berlin, 1976, pp 40 ff.
2. Cf., specifically, K.-H. Brandt/F. Mueller, "The Broad Unfolding of Socialist Democracy--The Citizens' Participation in Shaping and Governing the Socialist State," NEUE JUSTIZ, 1979, Supplement 4, p III.
3. The development of the petition right since 1958 was sketched by K.-H. Kuehnau, "Civic Concern--A Trust Fund," STAAT UND RECHT, 1979, pp 588 ff; in 1972, K. Boenninger and T. Schoenrath differentiated more accurately between legal redress and petitions (cf. "Right of Complaint--Instrument for Protecting the Rights of the Citizens and for Further Improving Government Administrative Activity," STAAT UND RECHT, 1972, pp 20 ff).
4. "Decree on Examining Recommendations and Complaints from the Working People, of 6 February 1953," GBL, Part I, pp 265 ff.
5. T. Ritter refers to these principles in detail in "Eingabenarbeit--Grundsätze und Erfahrungen (Reihe: Der sozialistische Staat. Theorie - Leitung - Planung)" (Petition Work--Principles and Experiences, Series: The Socialist State. Theory--Administration--Planning), Berlin, 1972, pp 31 f.
6. Mainly W. Menzel and K. Hoenl have taken a visible stand in talking about some borderline issues as between petitions and legal redress (W. Menzel, "The Working People's Petitions as a Means for Democratizing the Working Procedures of the Government Apparatus," STAAT UND RECHT, 1954, pp 376 ff; K. Hoenl, "The Working People's Petitions as a Means for Democratizing the Working Procedures of the Government Apparatus," STAAT UND RECHT, 1953, pp 700 ff). The opposing views of the two authors cannot be discussed at this point. For detail, cf. W. Bernet, "Staatliche Leitung und Sicherung der Bürgerrechte" (Government Administration and Securing Citizens' Rights), Jena dissertation, 1978, pp 211 ff.
7. Cf. K.-H. Kuehnau, op. cit., p 588.
8. "Decree by the GDR State Council on Processing Petitions from Citizens, of 20 November 1969," GBL, pp 239 ff.
9. "Law on the Reformulation of Regulations on Legal Redress Against Government Organ Decisions, of 24 June 1971," GBL, Part I, p 49. The Council of Ministers made decrees containing legal redress more uniform (cf. decree of 24 June 1971, GBL, Part II, p 465). Also the Minister for Culture (Order of 28 July 1971, GBL, Part II, p 539), for Transport (Order of 3 August 1971, GBL, Part II, p 545) and for Agriculture and Foodstuffs (Order of 13 August 1971, GBL, Part II,

p 574) have made legal redress more uniform in their particular areas of responsibility. Furthermore, in a considerable number of legal regulations one can find additional regulations on legal redress.

10. "Law on Processing Petitions from Citizens--Petition Law--", of 19 June 1975," GBL, Part I, p 461.
11. A. Zschiedrich, "Socialist Basic Rights in Their Function as Instruments of Government Administration in Socialist Democracy," STAAT UND RECHT, 1979, p 579.
12. M. Benjamin/D. Machalz-Urban/G. Schulze/W. Sieber, "Administrative Law and Government Administration," STAAT UND RECHT, 1975, p 371. Also S. Petzold and G. Schuessler stress the functions of administrative law as an instrument for strengthening the government-citizen relations ("The New Law on the GDR Council of Ministers--Creative Application of Lenin's Theory of State," STAAT UND RECHT, 1972, p 1852); cf. also D. Hoesel/G. Schulze, "On the Tasks of Political Science and Administrative Jurisprudence in the GDR," STAAT UND RECHT, 1973, p 552.
13. Cf. USSR Constitution of 7 October 1977, Berlin 1977.
14. Cf., as the last word about it, I. Wagner, "Theoretical Aspects of Subjective Right in the Developed Socialist Society," STAAT UND RECHT, 1979, pp 674 ff.
15. W. Bernet/H.-U. Hochbaum, "International Symposium on Legal Acts in Socialist Economic Management (Report)," WIRTSCHAFTSRECHT, 1975, p 176. For the main paper and discussion contributions, cf. UPRAVLENIYE I PRAVO, ed. Yu. M. Kozlov, Moscow, 1988.
16. Cf. N. Frank, "On Administrative Law Responsibility," STAAT UND RECHT, 1979, pp 202 f.
17. Cf. K. Boenninger/T. Schoenrath, op. cit., pp 22ff.
18. Cf. the recommendations by R. Schmitt, "Fragen der Gewährleistung der sozialistischen Gesetzlichkeit bei der rechtlichen Ausgestaltung von Regelungen ueber Rechtsmittel gegen Entscheidungen staatlicher Organe" (Questions of Insuring Socialist Legality in Developing Legal Regulations on Legal Redress Against Decisions by Government Organs), Berlin dissertation, 1975; W. Bernet, op. cit., pp 313 ff.
19. Cf. the article by H. Pohl/E. Unger, "On Implementing the Petition Law by a Kreis Council," STAAT UND RECHT, 1979, pp 596 ff.

5885

CSO: 2300

BRIEFS

**ARREST OF STUDENT PROTESTERS**—According to the AfM [West Berlin Work Group for Human Rights], four GDR students from the Technical University, Dresden, have been arrested in connection with protests against the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. They allegedly tried at the end of the week of 1-23 February to collect signatures at the university for a protest resolution written by them. As reported on 22 February 1980 by the AfM, moreover, several days ago leaflets were found in telephone booths in Erfurt which read: "We do not want any Olympic Games in Moscow—instead of guns we want coal." In addition, unknown persons reportedly painted slogans on the walls of the VEB Office Machinery Works, Soemmerda, and the VEB Karl Marx Metallurgical Plant, Unterwellenborn. One of the slogans at the Unterwellenborn plant supposedly read as follows: "Why do we have to wait so long to get an automobile? Because tanks are being built for Afghanistan." The AfM had already reported several days ago about similar actions in Rostock and Leipzig. [Text] [West Berlin DER TAGESSPIEGEL in German 23 Feb 80 p 2]

CSO: 2300

## REVIVAL OF RELIGIOUS FOLK CUSTOMS APPROVED

Budapest UJ ENBER in Hungarian 20 Jan 80 p 1

[Article by Ferenc Magyar: "The Reembraced Child"]

[Text] It is worthy of the Church of the Good Pastor to seek out and embrace its children who have lost their way. It is even more constructive if she takes back one whom she herself has disowned. Without an attempt to generalize, we have to admit that hitherto our church did not look upon the undoubtedly worthy traditions of folk religiousness as one of her favorite children. Initially, we hounded these traditions because they contained elements and memories of the pagan past: Zoltan Kodaly mentions the following case in Vol II of his Archives of Hungarian Folk Songs [The Noteworthy Days]: "Even in the early 1900's, a village priest tried to put an end to the fire-jumping of St Ivan by asking parishioners to give up this practice by way of an offering for the fire losses sustained by the village. Thus, not even the religious elements connected with this event could save it from ecclesiastical anathema." We were at war against everything with which the Hungarian masses tried to complement the official liturgy with an unsatiable thirst. (Or to us P. Rado's expression, we fought against the "devotio popularis." We looked upon men and women who were leaders of prayers and pilgrimages as muddleheaded persons who were simply trying to rival the priest. I know this to be true from my own mother's experience. We shut the doors of our churches in front of many devotional exercises that contained ancient dramatic elements (e.g., the Lamentations of Christ on Good Friday, the Search for Christ on Easter Eve, etc.). We may also point out that when Christianity was the only creditable and elegant hallmark of public life in our country, we had money, energy and fund drives for everything, except for the collection of popular religious traditions. This is all the more lamentable as even during the interwar period we had a rich heritage of these traditions such as no one else in the world had. (I do not even wish to talk about how harshly these unusually rich traditions are being treated by the liturgical reforms.)

Joining our cardinal who has embraced this discovered child, recently such other great authorities as Sandor Balint and Zsuzsanna Erdelyi, who have dedicated their whole lives to this cause, have spoken up assessing this heritage. I myself am simply thinking out loud now. I am thinking about

the fact that those who believed that with the agreement between the state and the church and with the filling of the episcopal chairs the continued development of our national church had come to an end, have again proven to be wrong. They were also wrong when they assumed that we could not take any additional steps purely on our own initiative.

We still have many goals to reach. But as to whether the cardinal's expression about the lopped-off branch that will sprout forth again becomes a reality or not depends on us alone. It will sprout if we leave its roots intact. This is the goal that we have to turn our attention to. Forceful initiatives can contribute to the building of our common fatherland through the revival of our national church. Not even the establishment of our collection of folk religiousness is our affair alone. Such a collection will enrich our common national culture.

9271

CSO: 2500

ARTICLE CRITICIZES WRITER'S VIEWS ON RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

Budapest UJ EMBER in Hungarian 20 Jan 80 p 2

[Reaction to Pal Feher article by Pal Rosdy: "Note Well"]

[Text] Pal Feher's personal observations appear from week to week in ELETES IRODALOM [LIFE AND LITERATURE]. In the 5 January issue of this periodical we read his notes dated 24 December [1979] about the Christmas issues of our paper [UJ EMBER, NEW MAN]. He reflected upon Tamas Kipke's essay in which three persons gave their views concerning what it means to be a Catholic in today's Hungary. Pal Feher liked the above essay, and we on our part liked the first section of his comments, which reads as follows: "To look upon a believer as an enemy is not only senseless, but it is also inhuman."

We feel obliged, however, to comment on the following part of his observations: "But this problem also has another side, and we should not forget about that either. Religious freedom applies both to the individual and to the church, which means that the state guarantees the right of free religious practice in one's home and in the ecclesiastical buildings. But not anywhere else where the practice of one's religion would inconvenience the nonbelievers. Occasionally we can even experience a certain moral terror by believers toward nonbelievers. This holds especially true in the case of children, particularly in connection with the teaching of religiousness. The use of moral terror against children and their parents--even if it appears in a most gentle form--can no longer be viewed as part of natural human behavior. It is just as inhuman as is discriminating against believers."

Pal Feher adds that "we have to mediate together about this problem in the interest of our common fatherland." It was precisely in the spirit of the above that the ensuing thoughts were born.

Naturally the exercise of one's citizenship right is legitimate only insofar as it does not violate the rights of others. Thus, the behavior of the believer should not impede anyone else's rights. But why should we not be able to make the sign of the cross even on the street when passing a church? Why should we not be able to hold a procession after making arrangements with the authorities--as we are in effect doing? Nor do we need any special permit for this--we only have to file a notice--precisely because religious freedom is not limited to one's home and to ecclesiastical buildings. It implies that a believer is also a believer at his place of work, and he

works and speaks according to the spirit and to the teachings of his faith. (I am not thinking of any kind of "agitation," but simply of an attitude that is the byproduct of one's beliefs, which influences positively even one's work.) The right not to deny one's faith and one's religious convictions is also part of religious freedom. One does not have to be secretive about his religiousness precisely because it cannot adversely affect his rights.

At first reading, I hardly knew what Feher meant by the reference to the "moral terror of the believers." (It also came to me that terror can never be moral or ethical.) Then I began to think about it, for it is my conviction that we have to be very serious about all criticism. We have to look upon it with the thought of self-examination, precisely because we claim to be Christians.

We are certain that Pal Feher does not wish to deny Christian parents the right to give their children a religious education. Nor does he wish to deny a priest's right to remain faithful to his calling, and thus fulfill his pastoral duties, which also includes the right to teach religion within the framework guaranteed by the constitution.

Clearly, he must be referring to those already doomed methods whereby--instead of influencing their children by means of moral examples derived from their own faith--parents try to achieve lasting results through a totalitarian system. Or he may be referring to a situation wherein a teacher of religion--instead of trying to make his beliefs attractive and persuasive--resorts to "seduction by candy," or to the use of the terror of damnation. We also condemn such methods. Christ has threatened no one. Rather, He simply looked with pity after those who had left Him.

The above is also a form of self-criticism. We should add, however, that for this very reason we regard Pal Feher's reference to "moral terror" an overstatement.

But beyond all assertions and counterassertions, Pal Feher probably agrees with us that all of us--believers and nonbelievers--should continue to work together "in the interest of our common fatherland," so that "moral terror" should never raise its head among us.

9271  
CSO: 2500

PCF'S FITERMAN INTERVIEWED ON POLISH PARTY CONGRESS

LD271549 Paris L'HUMANITE in French 22 Feb 80 p 8 LD

[L'HUMANITE interview with Charles Fiterman: "A Forward Leap and Problems Born of the Country's Own Development--date and place not specified]

[Excerpt] [L'HUMANITE] The PZPR Congress you attended has recently finished. The top government changes which occurred there have attracted attention. There is talk of "economic crisis," "dramatic difficulties" and of a "deteriorating standard of living." What is it like?

[Fiterman] On returning to Paris, I established once more how certain commentators shamelessly use caricature and falsification. To listen to them, Poland is on the verge of famine. In the streets of Warsaw, Poznan and Katowice I saw well-dressed people, a happy crowd enjoying life. On my travels I had the impression of being in a modern, industrialized country in full development.

In truth, two factors emerge from the report and discussion on economic and social problems which were at the heart of the congress.

First, since 1970 Poland has made a genuine leap forward, termed the Polish "miracle." The figures testify to this. In 10 years, investment has increased 2.5 times; industrial production has increased by 130 percent, construction by 200 percent and the national income by 85 percent. Two and a half million new jobs have been created, and one of today's great worries is the manpower shortage. I confirmed this on my visit to the Nowa Huta Steel Works which, once it is finished, will produce 9 million tons of steel a year. In the past, Poles came to France in their thousands seeking work. Now Frenchmen are going to have to go to Poland! A sign of the times.

This economic progress has a social dimension. Since 1970 purchasing power has increased by 50 percent--75 percent if one includes various social benefits like pensions and allowances.

But, and this is the second aspect, this rapid development is intensifying certain delays and shortages. For example, the rise in purchasing power is bringing about increased needs and demand. The continuation of old, highly fragmented farm structures slows the development of production. Although annual meat consumption has increased in 10 years from 53 to 72 kilos per head, there are food supply problems.

Another example is housing. Although the construction rate has doubled, it is insufficient to satisfy a demand greatly increased by urbanization, the rising number of marriages and the desire for a modern home. The repercussions of inflation in the capitalist countries and administrative shortcomings complicate these problems.

The interesting point is that Comrade Gierek's report together with the delegates' many interjections openly touched on all these questions with frankness, sincerity and honesty. This phrase occurred often. All this combined with proposals for progress on a solid basis of experience. The changes in government are part of this advance.

[L'HUMANITE] And international problems? How did the congress deal with those?

[Fiterman] On this I was impressed by the congress' extreme sensitivity to the peace question. Poland lost 6 million people between 1939 and 1945. Their country was ravaged. As a woman worker in Lodz told me, they "never" want "a mother's heart to be broken by war again."

Edward Gierek has made himself the bearer of this will. He expressed Poland's concern at the U.S. decision not to ratify SALT II, at NATO's decision to place new nuclear missiles in Europe, and West Germany's decision to deploy them on its territory. He blamed these decisions for the deterioration in the international climate. Declaring himself optimistic, he put the struggle to preserve and develop detente at the center of the Polish leaders' international activity. Thus the proposal for a disarmament conference in Warsaw.

[L'HUMANITE] And Soviet relations. Some observers have spoke of discord?

[Fiterman] Yes, I read in a Yvan Leval article that Gierek did not applaud Suslov's speech. I was on the congress platform, 3 meters from Gierek, and I state that Leval is a liar. Moreover, I have for his use several pages of quotes from the statements made to the congress by the speaker and others on Poland's will to maintain and strengthen its cooperation with the Soviet Union, which, Gierek recalled, most 600,000 sons on Polish soil in the liberation struggle against the Nazi occupier.

I add one comment. For the Giscardian parrots, when we, the PCF, wish to insure the Afghan people's march toward progress, in full sovereignty and peace," we are alining ourselves. But when the Polish Communists wish "the Afghan people peace and progress in independence," that is repudiation. Our critics are self-contradictory.

In truth, they are trying to put up a smokescreen because they are as irritated by the solidarity of all the progressive and revolutionary forces, to which the Polish congress reaffirmed its attachment, as by the peace initiatives that socialist Poland is developing in its own manner, and style, and with the legitimate will to play its own role.

## POSSIBLE LONG-TERM CONSEQUENCES OF PAPAI. VISIT EXAMINED

Paris KULTURA in Polish No 1-2, Jan-Feb 80 pp 225-229

[Article by Jan Szczepanski, dated 3 July 1979: "After the Visit"]

[Text] To all the analyses and debates on the possible consequences of John Paul II's visit to Poland, I would like to add a few hypotheses and reflections. Starting with the banality that the visit will have many political consequences, I wish to propose the following hypotheses: a) possible consequences in the politics of the NATO countries as regards Poland; b) consequences for the internal politics of the PZPR; c) consequences for the Catholic political movement in Poland.

Assumptions. Several simplified assumptions are made: The visit had an effect by mobilizing various socio-political forces in Poland; by giving other countries a new look at the socio-political ideological situation in Poland; and by creating a political situation in the state-church relationship.

Hypotheses. With regard to a) -- Poland's role in NATO politics is based on the fact that it is regarded as an element for steady and mild destabilization of the socialist countries' camp. From this viewpoint, these countries are oriented towards supporting the various forms of opposition that sow slight unrest that lightly settles on the other socialist countries but does not create severe tensions or crises. In other words, the NATO countries are concerned principally with anti-communist or non-communist forces. And so the pope's visit showed them the real strength of the Church, which in the West is, by definition, regarded as the enemy of the regime or as an alternative force. This demonstration of political strength will probably serve to arouse hopes or deliberations on what can be done to make better use of the Church as a factor in destabilizing the bloc. This will also probably change political attitudes toward opposition in Poland, since the visit clearly showed the marginality of the opposition groups. The visit showed most vividly that the party and the church in Poland are politically important organized forces, capable of mobilizing the masses and guiding social attitudes, ideological positions and political aspirations. For Western analysts, the

visit was and will continue to be looked upon as an ideological confrontation, as a unique people's plebiscite. They will attempt to draw conclusions from it for a tactical reaction to attitudes and for propaganda strategy in Poland. They will carefully observe the reactions of the government and the party and the conclusions drawn by the authorities from the visit. This is because, politically, the visit was an "invasion" by the West into one of the important bloc countries, in which it achieved a large mobilization of political forces, despite the fact that these forces conducted themselves with quiet dignity. The fact that the Church in Poland could organize, with the cooperation of the authorities, efficient control of the masses, must suggest that the Church could organize similar control of the masses without the participation of the authorities, or against the authorities.

It can also be assumed that the visit will be assessed as a demonstration of the actual independence of Poland from the USSR. The West has begun to disbelieve the independent Romanian gestures. The people of Poland showed a real degree of self-dependence. This will probably influence the politics of economic support for Poland, not because of any kind of solicitude for Polish interests, but because of a desire to line up Poland economically. This, combined with the people's attitude toward the Party, may in the future in some way be politically advantageous to the West. In a word, when the West's politics toward Poland are considered, the consequences of the visit will lie in the direction of an analysis of how to use the strength of Catholicism as a political force, regardless of its present degree of activity, in determining political strategy for dealing with the Soviet bloc in Europe. Western strategy simply cannot fail to utilize such a great force, independent of the Party, inside a communist country. This hypothesis should be considered both by the Church and by the Party, for too far-reaching Church-Party cooperation is not in the West's interest.

With regard to b) -- The consequences for Party politics inside the country can also be quite far-reaching. First of all, the ability to organize the masses was strikingly demonstrated. Besides, it was based on real obedience to the Church and on the ability to call on volunteer services working competently and with dedication. This must give an authority, performing as the Party authority does, a good deal to think about. The Party can treat the visit also as a show of its strength -- because the visit changed nothing in the functioning of its rule, and because the Party could "afford" to permit the organization of mass religious services and the gathering of tremendous crowds without any kind of disturbances. This is true, of course, but it is also true that this "historical compromise" was also described by many people as an "historical discreditation", and that it was also a mobilization of radical forces, which although unrevealed, remain as a potential for emergence, possibly at the least expected time. The party must bear this in mind as well as the Church. It must therefore be assumed that the visit has created "delayed conflicts".

The consequences of the visit may be revealed in the reflections of the religious people on their place in society and in the state. It is very obvious that a religious person in Poland finds a place in society only through the Church; outside the Church he has no access to many positions, to many forms of public life, and his participation in political activities is limited. And so, after the visit, or actually during it, these considerations arose: What will be the effect on party and government politics of this powerful demonstration of Catholic masses, showing openly what religious people are as a socio-political element in Poland. What conclusions will the Party draw? Will it acknowledge this and create a political status in the state for the religious people, or will it maintain its present discrimination in favor of people who have declared themselves to be marxists, regardless of what they actually practice. Of course, the strength of the Church stems also from this policy of a lack of a place in public life for religious people, which means that they must seek this place through the Church. They are, it appears, linked by Party politics to the Church and by these politics they automatically create a political involvement of the Church. Will the Party want to change its politics? It is very doubtful.

Will it be possible to conduct politics inside Poland "as if nothing had happened"? The politics of pretending that nothing has happened has been applied frequently after various upheavals, particularly when the Party was confronted with a serious conflict. This visit was not a conflict — exactly the contrary, it was a manifestation of cooperation, but precisely by the fact of this cooperation it created a basically new situation. A conflict would have been "normal," but such complete and harmonious cooperation was a surprise for many. So, has nothing happened? The hypothesis presented here states that something very important happened, that the visit began an irreversible process. This may be a process of mutual adaptation of Church and socialist state, similar to the adaptation between Church and liberal state, which also takes place after periods of serious conflict and battles, but this process may be regarded as an erosion of both marxism and Catholicism. The visit's consequences will be felt by every teacher and lecturer presenting "ideological subjects," and every National Unity Front political activist who must answer questions from citizens on what happens next. Is the conduct of the authorities during the visit to be regarded as an indication of permanent Party policy towards the aspirations of the Catholic masses, or only as a "gesture of courtesy" towards a Polish pope and the head of the Vatican state? If this was a gesture, then its consequences will be far-reaching and, perhaps contrary to all intentions this was a political act releasing many significant political phenomena. Such a gesture towards a visitor exerted an effect on the masses, and from the standpoint of internal politics, it was not the pope as a person that was important, but the hundreds of thousands of people who gathered to hear him and to show their loyalty to the Church.

What may be the consequences for the regime? In the end, we can say to ourselves that everything that was done in Poland to build the technico-

economic foundations of the socialist regime was done by these masses expressing their faith in their religion and in the church, and that the pope departed and the Catholics returned to their jobs and will continue to do what they have been doing. But if we concede that the visit was a manifestation of ideological pluralism, that both the participants of the religious services and the participants of the meetings with the pope demonstrated that outside of their job activities they do not approve or believe in the Party or in marxist ideology, then can the Party continue to pretend that it does not see what has happened? This is because, in an extreme form, the belief can be advanced that what happened is based on the fact that the Party's ceasing to be a political alternative to Poles outside the church, and either it will create such an alternative for them or it will lose support in favor of the Church. Further -- marxism ceases to be an alternative for religion -- and so the propaganda strategists and engineers of human souls have something to think about!

With regard to c) -- The consequences for the Catholic political movement in Poland? Many hypotheses can be proposed. Continue pretending that there is no such movement and that in the Sejm there are eleven representatives of a "Catholic social movement" that is not a party, is simply laughable. Party politics with regard to the Sejm have made this the only political group in the Sejm "heard" by the Sejm and by the government, for certainly no deputy from the party or the factions has ever said anything that everyone does not already know by memory. And so, by a natural process these three groups are transforming themselves into a political party, admittedly polite and meek, but a de facto party. It is this de facto party that will find it itself under the pressure of a situation created by the pope's visit and the authorities' cooperation with the Church, under the pressure of forces released and mobilized by this visit, and crying not just "we want God", because this cry also contained the message that we want everything which follows from our faith in God. Even if a clearly formulated question is not stated at the meetings of the Catholic associations, the situation itself shows that these three groups remain in a pitiful proportion to the displayed strength of the Catholic masses.

In their speeches on June 28, 1979, the Catholic deputies in the Sejm showed themselves to be polite, and respecting the game rules established before the visit, voted approval of the government's handling of the pope's visit. The first assessments prepared by these groups are in this same tone. But what next? Here again, we must assume that the pope's visit was the beginning of a political process that will systematically slip from the Church's control. For many bishops, it will be a temptation to stand at its head and steer it differently, particularly since pressures in this direction will come from both ambitious secular politicians in the Catholic political movement and very skillfully controlled pressures from abroad. The Catholic masses, having become aware of their political strength, will want to transform the existing political forms of the three associations into politically efficient organizations responding to the needs of the

aroused masses. It would not be normal were it to happen otherwise. And then the party will be faced head-on not by small groups of dissidents but by mass political movements. Fantasy? Perhaps, but the occurrence of such a process cannot be excluded. The existing Catholic political movement must act so as not to be swept away by this tide. And so under this pressure it will transform itself to satisfy the growing political needs, the need to participate in the rule, particularly during periods of increasing economic difficulties which must, as a result, give rise to political dissatisfaction and hence the striving to direct politics in another way and to take active part in this "other way." The Catholic political movement will have to present alternative programs which, supported by the Catholic people, will become a political factor of totally different dimensions than the "memorials" written by worried Party members, and the criticisms of the dissidents.

Naturally, in Poland there can be no thought of organizing a Christian Democratic or other Catholic party on the example of West European parties. But this does not exclude other forms of Catholic political movements, and not just an ostensible, meek and controlled movement, but a real, independent, though partnership, movement. The attempt made by PAX failed, for the Party did not want Piasecki's dream to come true. But this does not mean that an attempt made in the eighties, under conditions totally different from those of the fifties, will fail. During the fifties, the idea of a large cross on Victory Square, with the pope celebrating a mass and delivering a sermon under it, was inconceivable. Today the pope has created the conditions for realization of a new vision of the political role of Catholicism, which under pressure of the masses may "become flesh." Hiding one's head in the sand does not preclude this possibility.

9295

CSO: 2600

**MILITARY PLANTS TO EXPAND OPERATIONS IN 1980**

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 24 Jan 80 pp 1, 3

[Article: "Plans Expanded--Higher Pace of Operations"]

[Excerpts] From the first days of the new year, the operating rates of the military repair and production enterprises have increased. An additional incentive to redouble efforts was the fact that last year all plants controlled by the Office of the Chief for Military Repair and Production Enterprises fulfilled and even exceeded their plans.

And this was not easy because one of the obstacles was the irregularity of material supplies. Everywhere there were shortages of spare parts. And then again there was last year's winter, the effects of which were felt throughout the entire year.

To answer the question as to how this year's expanded tasks are being realized. We contacted representatives of several military enterprises.

Over the telephone, Col Magister Tadeusz Popko of the Military Communications Equipment Works in Zgierze said: "Even last September it seemed to us that 1979 would be the first year in which we would not fulfill the plan. Above all, it was characterized by material supplies difficulties. However, because of the tremendous effort exerted by the entire work force, 1979 was closed out with 100.2 percent of the plan realized. One of the newer projects was new types of field workshops for signal troops and military health services. This year's production, which was approved by the recently formed Worker's Self-Government Conference [KSR] will increase 12 percent. This compels us to improve organization in specific divisions, and, in such an atmosphere full of understanding, our production has increased significantly since the beginning of the new year...."

Zenon Borowski of the No 5 Military Motor Vehicle Works in Poznan answered the question as follows:

"We exceeded last year's sales plan by 0.1 percent. Like the rest of our economy, we too had certain difficulties. For example, as a result of the

nonperformance of tasks by contractors, we had to defer one of our investments to this year. In spite of this, new initiatives were undertaken and existing facilities modernized. Regarding production plans, the KSR approved the plan to increase production approximately 5 percent without much alteration; and knowing the workforce, its commitment and ambition, I do not doubt the final outcome of the tasks. We started out well. In conjunction with the preparations for the 8th PZPR Congress, we are fulfilling additional production commitments and social actions. The plan specifies that the additional production will produce about 1.5 million slotys of profit; and the actions, in the framework of which recreational facilities are being modernized and plant areas are being beautified, will cost about 600,000 slotys.

Col Magister Eng Jan Stojanowicz of the No 4 Aviation Equipment Repair Works in Warsaw said: "The most burdensome difficulties in fulfilling last year's plan were irregular supplies and lack of engine spare parts. Nonetheless, on 31 December we were able to report that 100.1 percent of the plan was realized, including individual plant operations. This year's start was somewhat weaker than we expected. And again the reason is irregularity in supplies. However, all of this is within such limits that we have no misgivings about the final result. On 11 January of this year the KSR convened here and strongly endorsed the extended plan. Among other things, the plan calls for a small increase relative to last year, and it includes a few new things. The new items will be assemblies for aircraft engines, new simulators, and the initiation of so-called second repairs of Mi-2 helicopter engines."

Col Eng Mieczyslaw Malessko of the No 4 Military Motor Vehicle Works in Wroclaw said: "We successfully realized production tasks (100.4 percent), repairing all vehicles and all assortments of new production. Of these last, we initiated production and completed a series of special vehicles using the Star 600 chassis for the needs of the Office of the Chief for Aircraft Technology, and also a series of recovery vehicles for cross-country vehicles. In addition we began building a large paint shop (almost 30,000 m<sup>3</sup> in size) for the plant. As the primary plant of the Office of the Chief for Military Repair and Production Enterprises, we installed a materials management computer system to monitor employment and payrolls. Its introduction will improve supervision by increasing management efficiency.

We plan to initiate five new assortments this year. With unchanged employment, we must fulfill a plan that is more extensive than last year's, equivalent to 2 weeks production. In the framework of extensively and universally undertaken pre-congress actions, above all we are counting on punctual and regular production.

11899

CSO: 2600

**MILITARY JOURNAL STRESSES NEED TO KEEP STATE SECRETS**

Gdynia PRZEGLAD MORSKI in Polish No 1, Jan 80 pp 27-32

[Article by Lt Comdr Gabriel Zielecki: "Some Problems in Safeguarding Secrets"]

[Text] Maintaining secrecy is related to the various activities of the State and its organs and with specific political, economic, military and scientific-technical actions. Keeping certain information, documents or objects secret has always been a very important State task. In today's times, it becomes a serious State and social problem.

In a world divided into political systems, competition arises among individual States with different political forms of government. The competition appears in various fields: in the sphere of politics and economics, in the military and social sphere and in scientific-technical achievements. Particular interest in the lives of other countries is shown by the world imperialist system, which is conducting a policy of expansionism aimed at assuming the lead in particular areas of life on the world scale, in subordinating other States and societies to itself, in imposing upon them its line of political action and making them dependent. This goal is attained by various ways and means, among which the role of intelligence activities is very important. Familiarity with activities and intentions, plans and other actions of other nations, and especially the socialist nations, is one of the main goals of the penetration of imperialist intelligence circles. Obtainment of information makes it possible to organize appropriate action against these nations and to conduct subversive activity. The notion of the coexistence of both systems, advocated and implemented by the socialist nations, does not mean that the basic conflicts between capitalism and socialism have been eliminated. The struggle between these forms of government continues. The scope of the capitalistic intelligence interests now encompasses all areas of our life, including national defense, political issues and economic problems.

In order to prevent disclosure of information that is a State or official secret and to safeguard State affairs in the military, political, economic and scientific-technical fields, a system of safeguards has been established which determines obligatory standard-legal and organisational practice in the area of secrecy protection. It provides procedures to be followed by organs and individuals to prevent disclosure of secret information to unauthorized persons and to ensure that this information is shielded from those persons who are particularly interested in obtaining it.

The secrecy protection system in effect in the PRL [Polish People's Republic] and the Armed Forces is divided into three separate systems, namely:

The normative-legal system, comprised of regulations defining: The object of secrecy, i.e., information that is a State and official secret and must be shielded due to the specific affairs of the State and organization, and the method for safeguarding secrets in the State, in the individual ministries and in all State and social institutions.

The organisational system, meaning the organs responsible for the state and organisation of secrecy protection at all organisational levels, and particularly for determining the subject to be kept secret, i.e., the concrete information that is a State and official secret, and determining the method for dealing with secret information and implementing the regulations describing the subject of secrecy, the safeguarding methods, and compliance control.

The function-subject system, which comprises the specific principles and methods for safeguarding secret information in all types of official activity conducted by organizational units and individuals.

Regulations concerning secrecy protection are all-State and ministerial. The all-State regulations include:

1. The PRL constitution, particularly the regulations contained in article 93 stating that vigilance for the country's enemies and strict observance of State secrets is the responsibility of every citizen of the PRL. Treason, actions impairing the strength of the Armed Forces, defection to the enemy, are punished to the full extent of the law as the highest crime.

2. (Penal code law, dated 19 April 1969, which defines a secret by types of State and official matters that are subject to protection, also forms the basis of information classification according to specific criteria. This law is the basic normative act determining a subject of secrecy (the subject to be

shielded). In accordance with article 120, sections 15 and 16 of the penal code, a State secret is considered to be that information the disclosure of which to unauthorized persons may endanger safety or an important political or economic matter. An official secret, however, is considered to be information that the worker obtains in connection with his job in a State or social institution, and the disclosure of which to an unauthorized person may be damaging to a socially justified interest.

3. Council of Ministers Resolution No 128, 2 July 1971, on safeguarding and on the organization for safeguarding State and official secrets. The resolution embodies decisions concerning the organs responsible for secrecy protection in the State, the procedure for selecting the subject of secrecy (the matter to be shielded) and principles and methods of secrecy protection. Based on decisions of the cited resolution, the organizational bodies responsible for secrecy protection are:

- organizers of State and official secrecy protection, i.e., directors of main and central State institutions at all levels, provincial governors and presidents and heads of all towns, as relates to all their subordinate institutions, and the directors of all individual State and social institutions;

- organizational cells coordinating the organization of secrecy protection and compliance with established principles;

- secrecy protection control organs;

- general supervision organs, which in the main and central State institutions and in the province and town administrations are committee organs. The Minister of Internal Affairs is, in his own right, a supervising organ; he can intervene in the main and central organs of the State administration on measures to be taken to improve the efficiency of the organization for protecting State and official secrets.

On problems relating to the subject of secrecy protection, the resolution regulates the following:

1. It defines information which, by way of example, includes the following: document, printed matter, plan, reproduction, patent, technical documentation, calculation, sketch, drawing, photograph, film, magnetic tape, punched tape, or a specific object, equipment, instrument, etc.

2. It states the formal principles of information classification by establishing a method for classifying certain types of secrets. It was determined that information considered to be

a State secret should be classified "top secret" --if this information is very important to the defense of the State or safety of the PRL; "secret" --if its disclosure would endanger other important interests of the PRL, e.g., political, economic, etc.; "confidential" --information that is an official secret.

Information that is not a State or official secret, appearing in the form of various reports, publications, regulations or other materials used in specified State or social institutions, should be treated as public official information permitted unlimited distribution. This type of material should be classified "for internal use" if it is intended exclusively for the internal use of the State institution by which it is issued; "for official use", if the information is intended also for the use of other State or official institutions.

The resolution also describes procedures pertaining to the determination of State and official secrets. It lists examples of basic types of information classified as State secrets relating to the PRL Armed Forces, State defense enterprises, and amount and distribution of defense expenditures; production for the country's defense needs and the potential for adapting the national economy to defense needs; installations, buildings, accommodations, terrain and equipment that is important to the country's defense.

The kinds of information listed in the resolution should be appropriately expanded by the directors of the main and central State and social institutions. They are also responsible for preparing the lists and updating them on a current basis. The lists of types of information comprising State and official secrets are binding upon all State and social institutions. On the subject of methods of safeguarding secrets, the resolution defines only the general principles relating to granting permission for covert operations and transmitting documents and covert information by technical means of communication.

The broadly outlined formal-legal state of activity in secrecy protection, organizational solutions, and the standardized (by binding regulations) subject range of State and official secrets, together with the basic principles governing their protection, comprise the present system for safeguarding PRL State and official secrets. Ministry regulations are more detailed, according to the specific character of the ministry, organization and methods for safeguarding secrets, but they cannot conflict with the regulations and principles of the State-wide system relating to secrecy protection.

Secrecy protection in the Ministry of National Defense is

particularly and fundamentally important because of the specific character of the Armed Forces. Most of the State-secret information is gathered in the Armed Forces, institutions, plants and enterprises belonging to the Ministry, mainly due to the State's defenses.

The reconnaissance-intelligence services of our potential enemies are interested in this kind of information, therefore the Armed Forces' secrecy protection system has been suitably developed in this regard.

The Ministry of National Defense fulfills a specific function in the PRL secrecy protection system. This is the leading and coordinating function of defining State-secret information. The secrecy protection organization must provide conditions for the prevention of disclosure of secret information to unauthorized persons and to ensure the protection of this information from foreign reconnaissance. Ministry regulations define the organization, method of Armed Forces' secrecy protection, and the subject of secrecy, i.e., information constituting a State and official secret.

The PRL constitution places responsibility for secrecy protection on every citizen, including every soldier. This issues from the military oath and Armed Forces Internal Security Rules and Regulations. The Rules and Regulations state that a soldier should resolutely counteract all attempts to betray the country, espionage, subversion and sabotage, that he has a duty to be vigilant for all attempts to weaken the Army's solidarity, undermine its moral-political unity and battle-readiness, and to immediately report all observed attempts of enemy activity to his superiors. Furthermore, the Rules and Regulations place upon every soldier the duty to strictly observe State and official secrets, and to maintain secrecy on all matters he learned about directly or in connection with his military service, if these matters are secret or if the good of the service requires that they be kept secret. At the same time, the Rules and Regulations stress that the duty to maintain secrecy prevails both during active service as well as after discharge.

The totalitarian nature of the NATO countries' intelligence activities by its range of interest encompasses almost all areas of life in the socialist countries, Poland included. The Polish Army, as an important link in the defense system of the socialist countries, is the object of very active interest by the intelligence of imperialist countries. Despite the great improvements in espionage techniques, the basic method of collecting information continues to be agent activity, i.e., secret collection of information. That is why the

success or failure of foreign agent activity on our soil is dependent to a large degree on the attitudes and awareness of soldiers, and often on that of their families.

We know from experience that although the state of secrecy protection is, on the whole, satisfactory, there are cases of disclosure, often not deliberate and not from any ill-will on the part of the guilty. The most common unintentional method of giving away a secret is by thoughtless talkativeness and boasting. From the standpoint of secrecy protection this is very dangerous for there is no cure for "foolish and harmful chatter". Alcohol has a very damaging effect on secrecy maintenance. After consuming alcohol, many people lose self-control and their sense of responsibility.

Preventative work and training and education, properly conducted and especially in the area of communication between army personnel and others, is very important for secrecy protection. The awareness by the soldiers of what is a secret in any unit, what information must be safeguarded and what can be talked about in off-duty hours, is not adequate. Often soldiers called up for military service are officially informed of secrecy protection regulations, with no systematic and proper preventative work being conducted.

In the light of the regulations on secrecy protection in the PRL Armed Forces, sub-unit commanders are responsible for instructing their staff in secrecy protection. Each time a conscript or reservist reports into a unit, the sub-unit commanders are required to instruct him, either at official briefings or in individual talks or by other methods.

During the instruction for soldiers or civilian workers on secrecy protection, attention should be called to the important role of the binding legal standards. Some of them state what should be considered a secret and give its classification. Others state what action is socially dangerous and what the penalties are for such action.

In the PRL Armed Forces, the duties of soldiers and civilian workers relating to secrecy protection are stated by regulations contained in the following: The law dated 21 October 1969 on the universal obligation to defend the PRL; the law dated 30 June 1970 on military service of professional soldiers and in the Rules and Regulations of the PRL Armed Forces Internal Service.

Matters pertaining to organization, general principles of State and official secrets protection, classification of covert

information, official production and circulation of documents, information transmission by technical means of communication, State and official secrets protection in publications and performances, are defined in "Regulations on Secrecy Protection in the PRL Armed Forces".

By showing our cadres and civilian workers some of the problems and aspects of State and official secrecy protection, we hope to reach the point where every soldier and civilian worker will not only observe the principles of secrecy protection, but will become an important element in preventing and counter-acting enemy activity.

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**REPORT ON FIRST BILATERAL MEETING WITH FRG**

Bucharest REVISTA ROMANA DE STUDII INTERNATIONALE in Romanian No 4,  
Oct-Dec 79 pp 527-530

[Article by Nicolae Moraru and Vasile Croicu: "The First Bilateral Romanian-West German Meeting"]

[Text] The ever more frequent dealing in non-governmental bi- and multilateral international meetings with vital problems confronting mankind is one of the characteristics of this decade. An expression of the formation and manifestation of public opinion, in the sense of increasing its role in determining the actions of national and international decisionmaking authorities, these meetings are distinguished by the fact that they have an interdisciplinary nature and closely bring together politicians, experts, press representatives and so forth, a reason why the meetings do not breakdown into simple theoretical exercises, but are useful in taking into account certain ideas and proposals designed to contribute to the more rapid, efficient solution of these problems in a democratic manner. In referring to one of the gravest phenomena of the contemporary world - the arms race, as well as the need to resolve this problem, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, stated: "If all the people of the world would decisively raise their voices, we are firmly convinced that they would cause the governments of the countries working in the direction of arming to take into account the will of the people and renounce the arms race."\*

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\*Nicolae Ceausescu, "Speech to the Solemn Joint Session of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, the National Council of the Socialist Unity Front and the Grand National Assembly Dedicated to the 60th Anniversary of the Creation of the Unified Romanian National State," 1 December 1978, Bucharest, Politica Publishing House, 1978, p 43.

Under the auspices of and at the hospitality of the Association of International Law and International Relations, on 14 and 15 June 1979, a bilateral meeting was held attended by politicians, politologists, economists and press representatives from the Socialist Republic of Romania and the FRG, with the meeting constituting an opportunity to have a useful exchange of opinions, in a sincere and friendly atmosphere, on certain international problems of general interest and certain aspects regarding the relations between the two countries. On the first day of the meeting, the current state of the negotiations on disarmament at the global, European and strategic levels, as well as the evolution of the process of European security in the perspective of the Madrid meeting in 1980.

With regards to the disarmament problem, it can be said that a consensus existed between the participants on the need to get this process moving through efficient measures that can be applied in the shortest possible time. Beginning with the position of our party and state and president Nicolae Ceausescu's ideas on the disarmament problem, the Romanian speakers made presentations, giving in a pertinent manner the evolution of the arms race and its negative influence upon international relations, the imperative nature of international and European disarmament and the need to integrate the efforts of all states into a general effort, in the sense of their participation with fully equal rights in the negotiations that are taking place in specialized fora and in the elaboration of measures designed to attain the final objective - general and total disarmament. In his statements on the poor results obtained by the disarmament negotiations during the post-war decades, Constantin Vlad pointed out the fact that they are the consequence of the deterioration of the situation of international relations and the struggle for the division of the world into areas of influence, essentially political problems. As a result, the arms race has continued to occur throughout this entire period, according to its own, autonomous logic that has escaped the control of the political decisionmaking authorities. Mircea Malita emphasized that, beginning in 1962, the disarmament negotiations were removed from Geneva, even though, from the moment the arms race became a global phenomenon, all countries were interested in participating in these negotiations, including those on nuclear disarmament. This interest is shown in the ranks of all nations since, from a strategic point of view in the event of a nuclear conflict, large, medium-sized and small countries are nothing more than some targets. Therefore, one of the objectives to be realized is satisfying these interests by once again bringing the general disarmament negotiations under the aegis of the United Nations. In his presentation, Ion Datcu gave a brief presentation of the Romanian ideas on disarmament, which proposes a total solution to this global phenomenon - the arms race, general

and total disarmament, and first of all nuclear disarmament. Referring to the types of possible negotiations - bilateral, SALT, regional, MBFR and global, in the United Nations, he noted the fact that some influential political and scientific circles are exhibiting the tendency of underestimating the general in favor of certain negotiations with a selective participation that deal with partial problems of disarmament, an attitude which, in essence, reflects the tendency to organize the international system according to the principle of Center-Periphery and the policy of bloc-to-bloc. The fact was also shown that despite all of these negotiations, some of them covering a long period of time, the arms race has not been affected by any agreement (Ion Datcu) and that neither the Non-Proliferation Treaty or association with the nonaligned movement has removed nations from the list of targets (Mircea Malita). Without underestimating the role of bilateral or limited multinational negotiations, the problem is much too important and vital for the future of mankind to not be resolved with the participation of all nations and the sole forum where this participation can be ensured is the United Nations. Giving the central role to the United Nations in the disarmament problem does not mean denying the interests of the great powers and groups of nations. The pulling of negotiations out from under immobilism is possible only through the creation of an agreement of political will capable of going beyond the so-called technical difficulties of disarmament (Constantin Vlad). Otherwise, the breakdown of attempts to prime the disarmament process risks leading to nuclear proliferation (Ion Datcu).

Referring to the recently concluded SALT II negotiations, the Romanian speakers were of the opinion that this event of limiting the arms race is significant in the sense that it could have a positive impact upon detente in the world and in Europe, representing a potentiality (Radu Pascal). The agreements limiting strategic weapons must have a positive influence not only upon the security of the great powers, but also upon every nation, the Geneva negotiations and MFR (Ion Datcu). The positive political significance of the Soviet-American agreement was also shown by the guests. In their speeches, it was pointed out that it at least establishes a minimum of rules for living together between the super powers, permits the continuation of a dialogue (Karl Kaiser), limits strategic weapons and establishes the principle of parity in the sense that neither of the super powers will try to obtain superiority over the other (Hans Sterken). On the other hand, Kurt Becker pointed out that arming is taking place since peace is threatened because of political disagreements and that limiting the arms race favorably influences political detente, but cannot constitute its central solution which, in his opinion, must be elaborated within the framework of a center of political negotiations. Karl Kaiser, Hans Sterken and Kurt Becker also pointed out that the SALT agreements must be connected to the Vienna negotiations in order to break the better than six year deadlock, at the same time coming out in favor

of initiating certain negotiations to limit Euro-strategic weapons within the framework of the future SALT III. In his report, Peter Corterier was of the opinion that the principle of parity agreed upon in SALT must be extended to the Vienna negotiations, as well as to those that will attack the problem of the gray areas in the weapons systems.

Both the Romanian participants and the guests agreed that a failure to ratify the SALT agreement will unleash both a strategic and tactical arms race of a dramatic nature, having negative consequences upon detente and European security.

The meeting paid substantial attention to the different aspects of European security. The discussions were especially directed toward three problems: the status of European military security; the Vienna NFR negotiations; the status of European security and cooperation in a broad sense (the CSCE process).

In their references to military security in Europe, the Romanian participants succinctly and realistically analyzed the existing situation on the continent from this point of view. University professor Mircea Malita pointed out the not-at-all encouraging fact that at this moment Europe is an area of nuclear risk. If in the world the average amount of explosive per inhabitant is 15 TNT, in Europe the estimates place the figure around 60 TNT. Given the strategic concepts in effect, basically founded on the theory of "discouragement" which makes the European countries some nuclear targets, the most disadvantaged countries are allied to the nuclear powers. Europe is not doing anything to correct its military situation. Under the conditions where the inhabitants of the continent must be united, since the military risks in this region are great and the assurances minimal, it is expected that they will unite their efforts for the purpose of minimizing risks and increasing guarantees for security. Similarly, the military security of the nations on the continent would not but gain if Europe became an area of abstention for the super powers. There must be a renunciation of the concept of a nuclear umbrella in favor of the target both in the strategic as well as the politological fields. Some of the reports by the guests were centered upon the problem of a Euro-strategic balance which, in their opinion, in the coming years will tend to become unstable as a result of the introduction of new weapons systems of this type (Karl Kaiser, Hans Streker, Gerhard Wetting). The military potential during peacetime gains political significance, especially under the conditions of the existence of unbalance (Hans Sterken). With one of the means of avoiding war being the establishment of a balance, created when none of the parties

are capable of attacking without risks that are too great (Gerhard Wetting), in Europe, where the imbalance is clear, defense measures must be taken (Karl Kaiser) concomitantly with a move to negotiate a balance in the weapons systems that are part of the gray area. In his presentation, university professor Dr Constantin Vlad pointed out that for European military security the means of establishing a balance is very important. It must not, however, be created at higher levels by arming on the principle of action-reaction, but by freezing and reducing, with the result being the creation of a balance at a lower level. University professor Ion Datcu remarked, in this context, that neither the SALT negotiations nor those in Vienna are discussing nuclear disarmament in Europe, that this problem must be included among the first priority objectives of all the nations on the continent and that Romania is very interested in the creation of a zone of peace and broad cooperation in the Balkans, free of nuclear weapons.

In connection with the Vienna negotiations, the West German participants emphasized the political difficulties in arriving at an understanding: their subordination to global strategy (Hans Becker), their technical-geostrategic nature, an area too small, geographic asymmetry and the comparability of weapons systems (Karl Kaiser); as well as the successes, although minimal: the agreement by both parties on the need to reduce on the principle of parity the numbers of military personnel and war materiel (Karl Kaiser), the renunciation of the neutron weapon (Peter Corterier). At the same time, they expressed the hope that the ratification of the SALT agreement will provide an impetus to these negotiations. In his speech, university professor Ion Datcu brought to light some limits of these negotiations: they do not discuss nuclear disarmament, they are taking place on the basis of the principle of bloc-to-bloc politics and they are broken by the CSCE. He also pointed out the need to conclude them through agreements that will call for the most substantial reductions and to create a connection between the Vienna negotiations and the General-European CSCE Concert.

In the analysis conducted by the meeting of the status of European security and cooperation, in the broad sense, there was a consensus on the fact that the Belgrade meeting, concluded, in general, with unsatisfactory results, reflected a certain backward step from the conclusion of the Final Act and that everything must be done so that detente and security can follow an irreversible, ascendent course on the continent. Ioan Ceterchi pointed out in his report that what happened at Belgrade must not also be repeated at Madrid. Constantin Vlad stressed the importance of the Conference on Security and Cooperation and the Final Act in European relations. The expectations after this event were not realized in deeds because of a lack of cooperation, proved even further at the Belgrade meeting. European

security is not just an event, but a process manifested in a number of fields, in close connection with interdependence. That is why Romania regards the Final Act not as a fragmented, divisible document, but as a single entity whose implementation is possible only through a systematic approach. In their references to the so-called "baskets" of European security, the Romanian participants stressed our country's concerns for the military problems, not covered on the agendas of the meetings, with the exception of the discussions on certain confidence building measures (Constantin Vlad, Ion Datcu), and for a series of obstacles that are still present and that have a tendency of becoming more difficult in the way of developing economic, technical-scientific, cultural and other relations between the nations on the continent (Constantin Vlad). The conclusions following the analysis of the evolution of the European process of security and cooperation make necessary a thorough and timely preparation for the Madrid meeting, which, if possible, should be held at the ministerial level (Ioan Ceterchi, Constantin Vlad). In pushing the ascendent evolution of European security, there must also be an involvement of public opinion and national and international non-governmental organizations that are specialized in European, parliamentary problems. In stressing the fact that the parliaments play an important role in influencing this process, Ioan Ceterchi mentioned the contribution of Interparliamentary Union to European security and cooperation, expressing his hope that the meeting next year of the Interparliamentary Conference will be able to help in the preparations for Madrid. The Romanian speakers also came out in favor of a broad discussion of the entire European-military problem, beyond the confidence building, economic and cultural-scientific measures, as well as of the possibilities of creating certain new forms on continuity. In this context, Constantin Vlad advanced the idea of creating a center for multilateral, systemic, permanent consultation, without any type of bureaucratic staff, a type of liaison link where not just military problems can be discussed, but also those of a broader nature covering the entire field of European security. Speaking on this point, Eberhard Schultz noted the right of the smaller nations to express their opinions and interests. The European nations should not be exposed to pressures and they have the duty to react together against any expressions of such a nature, such as, for example, military maneuvers and demonstrations of force along border regions. In order to eliminate this situation, he was of the opinion that it is necessary to have notifications of maneuvers so that, in the event where a country is exerting pressure through troop movements, it will have to justify them, also additionally providing time for diplomatic negotiations. He similarly proposed the establishment of certain unified criteria and a behavioral code for observers sent to maneuvers. With regards to the preparations for the Madrid meeting, Peter Corterier pointed out that the FRG is in favor of a meeting at the ministerial level and Hans Becker proposed examining the possibility of creating a center for political negotiations.

During the meeting, there was also a retrospective look at the evolution of bilateral relations, appreciating that the establishment of diplomatic relations between Romania and the FRG in 1967 represented a moment of historic value both for bilateral relations and for the evolution of international relations, especially in Europe, and that it stimulated detente and the struggle against certain outdated ideas and for principled relations between nations.

This event was not due to circumstances, but stemmed from Romania's principled and consistent policy which, militating for the continued furthering of friendship with all the socialist nations, called for and worked for the development of relations with other nations, regardless of their social order, in the spirit of peaceful co-existence, mutual interest and in agreement with the requirements of peace and understanding in international relations.

In the context of the social-political changes that have occurred in Europe, Romania began with the historically established reality of the existence of two German states, feeling that only through such an realistic approach could there be a normalization and improvement of relations on the entire continent.

The establishment of diplomatic relations with the FRG was thus the logical consequence of this position. The later evolution of events proved the justice of this act, whose effects have been fully felt both on the bilateral level and on a general level, opening the path towards Helsinki and the normalization of relations between European nations.

The establishment of diplomatic relations between Romania and the FRG created a favorable framework for the multilateral development of relations between the two countries, a determining contribution leading to the high-level contacts, the exchange of visits and the discussions between the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, and both the president and chancellor of the FRG, in Bucharest and in Bonn. The documents signed on these occasions (the Joint Solemn Declaration - 1973, the Joint Declaration - 1978, and a significant number of agreements and governmental understandings which regulate bilateral relations in the majority of fields of cooperation between the two countries) created a thorough legal framework for the development of bilateral relations and for the fruitful cooperation of the two countries on an international level.

There has also been an intensification of the dialogue along the lines of the political parties, parliaments and youth and public organizations.

The participants in the meeting showed that the volume of economic relations has substantially increased in recent years and they pointed out the possibilities for developing and extending these relations on mutually advantageous bases. They also stressed the need to undertake joint efforts to achieve a stable balance of trade.

There was a presentation of the progress recorded in the field of economic cooperation between organizations and enterprises in the two countries, as well as the need for these organizations and enterprises to be encouraged to study new possibilities for cooperation, both in Romania and the FRG and in third markets, corresponding to the economic potential of the two countries.

Exchanges have also developed in the fields of education, art, culture, scientific cooperation, tourism, sports and so forth.

This first Romanian-West German symposium brought to light the existence among the ranks of the participants of a multitude of similar points of view and even agreement on some aspects of bilateral relations and international political affairs.

In closing the proceedings, both delegations could appreciate that this action constituted a sure success, with there being important grounds for waiting with interest for a future meeting of the Romanian and West German delegations, which will take place next time in Bonn at a date to be agreed upon later.

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CSO: 2700

## ROMANIA

### SESSION ON 35TH ANNIVERSARY OF LIBERATION

Bucharest REVISTA ROMANA DE STUDII INTERNATIONALE in Romanian No 4, Oct-Dec 79 pp 531-535

[Article by Ion Calafeteanu: "Thirty-five Years Since the Revolution for Social and National, Antifascist and Antiimperialist Liberation"]

[Text] On 8 August 1979, at the headquarters of the Association of International Law and International Relations in the Socialist Republic of Romania, there was a scientific session dedicated to the 35th anniversary of the revolution for social and national, antifascist and antiimperialist liberation. In the opening speech, professor Nicolae Fotino, the scientific director of the Association, pointed out the domestic and international importance of the events in August 1944, which opened the path for certain profound changes in the social-economic and political life in Romania.

Then, Dr Ion Calafeteanu, a scientific researcher at the Institute of Historical and Social-Political Study associated with the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP], took the floor and presented the report, "The Theoretical and Practical Contribution of the RCP in Elaborating the Concept of the National Antifascist Insurrection." After he presented the social-economic situation of Romania in the period 1940 to 1944 and the disposal of domestic political forces during the period, the author pointed out that a series of subjective and objective factors placed the RCP at the head of all the forces that were fighting against the Antonescu dictatorship and for the withdrawal of Romania from the Hitlerist war. The original solutions drawn-up by the RCP to save Romania, the report showed, had at their bases the careful analysis, in the spirit of scientific socialism, of the specific situation of the country and the evolution of international events. The analysis of the domestic situation by the RCP showed that broad social and political forces of the Romanian people were rising up against the Antonescu dictatorship and the Hitlerist domination. First of all, there was the working class that was stepping out in front of these

forces. Alongside the proletariat were the ever broader masses of the peasantry against the Hitlerists and their supporters in our country and against the war waged against the United Nations. Likewise, on the path of the antifascist resistance there were also ever more greater numbers of intellectuals, office workers, small craftsmen and businessmen. Also in the opposition to the regime were the important circles of the bourgeois wronged by those who subordinated the country to the Third Reich. From this picture of the disposition of political forces, the RCP drew the just conclusion, which it placed at the base of all its activities during those years, that first of all there were the contradictions of the opposition between the Romanian people, on one hand, and the military fascist dictatorship and German imperialism, on the other hand, which brought about the drawing together of all the social strata of the Romanian people in the antifascist resistance and in the struggle for liberation from foreign domination. The future of this struggle was closely tied to the evolution of the international situation, which was characterized by the great struggle between the anti-Hitlerist coalition, with the Soviet Union holding the principal role, and the fascist forces, through the powerful struggle for national liberation of the people against the foreign invaders and the fascist dictatorship.

From the situation existing in Romania and on the international level, the RCP, manifesting a creative spirit and revolutionary daring, drew the conclusion that the major problem and the rule of thumb at that stage was not a "class against class" type struggle, but a mobilization of all national patriotic and antifascist forces was necessary to defeat the Antonescu dictatorship and to obtain national liberation and independence. Of all the political forces, only the RCP was capable of elaborating a global strategy and tactics for the anti-fascist, national liberation struggle, which it set forth in its platform on 6 September 1941. The essence of the RCP program was in the fact that the Romanian people should not have to passively wait for the outcome of events on the war front, but they should forge their own destiny and ensure their respectable future among the ranks of the nations of the world through their own efforts.

Giving proof of a higher understanding of the need to unify all national forces, giving first priority to the vital interests of the entire population and going beyond the misplaced resentments of the past in the relations between the political forces whose coalition was at that time necessary, the RCP proved ready to collaborate with all political parties, groups and personalities and with all Romanian patriots to save the country. Through this, the RCP made a creative contribution to the theoretical and practical experience of the international workers movement in the problem of

using the contradictions in the ranks of the ruling class. Thus, the RCP did not approach the problem of contradictions in the classical manner. If it had, under the conditions where the bourgeois parties and the monarchy were still maintaining their influence over a part of the popular masses, it would have led to a division of the forces that could have contributed to the defeat of the Antonescu dictatorship. Furthermore, the RCP saw in the contradictions in Romanian society the possibility of bringing into the fight certain very broad forces, from the popular masses to the bourgeois circles interested in defeating the dictatorship, and the participation of the monarchy and even some exponents of the state apparatus. This ensured the complete isolation of the Antonescu government at the decisive moment and a maximum concentration of national forces. Similarly, the RCP accorded special attention to attracting the army, in its entirety, including the officer corps, to the side of the people, which constituted an essential characteristic of the historic event in August 1944.

The conclusions drawn by the RCP from its analysis of domestic and international conditions with regards to the possibility of overthrowing the Antonescu dictatorship and liberating the country from the domination of Hitlerist Germany were expressed in the elaboration of the concept of a national antifascist insurrection as the sole means of successfully ensuring the achievement of the fundamental objectives in their entirety. In creatively applying the materialist-historical concept regarding the proletariat insurrection, the speaker concluded, the RCP conceived and thus achieved an unusual type of insurrection which, through its scope and the forces unleashed, opened a path for profound changes in Romania.

In the report entitled "The Diplomatic Preliminaries of the Insurrection. The Stockholm - Cairo Negotiations," Dr Traian Udrea, a scientific researcher at the "Nicolae Iorga" Institute of History, pointed out that after commitment of the country in the Hitlerist war, which placed Romania in a camp hostile to the United Nations, the Antonescu government, flagrantly ignoring national interests, continued to lead an obedient, unprotected foreign policy alongside the Axis powers, even though those powers had sponsored the territorial mutilation of Romania in 1940. In 1943, when the victory of the United Nations over Hitlerist Germany and its satellites had become certain, there arose out of necessity before all the patriotic and antifascist forces the search for certain solutions to remove Romania from the unnatural alliance with Nazi Germany and to bring it back onto the side of its traditional allies. There were two essential means of doing this, with each involving the option of certain domestic social-political forces. One, unequivocally peremptory, began with the fact that under the conditions of the Antonescu military-fascist dictatorship and the presence and control exercised by the Hitlerists on the territory of the country, there was but one efficient way, that of achieving the

national antifascist objectives by means of an armed insurrectional struggle. This was the solution proposed by the RCP from the very beginning. A second alternative was negotiating through diplomatic channels for Romania's withdrawal from the war, which left the solution of liberating Romania in the hands of certain foreign authorities, first of all the great victorious powers, with all the imponderables that this implies.

In referring to the second alternative, in the perspective of 35 years since the events of 1944 and on the basis of careful analysis of the documentary evidence, including certain archives recently made available, the author noted that the principal diplomatic approaches and negotiations for Romania's withdrawal from the alliance with Hitlerist Germany and its alliance with the anti-Hitlerist coalition were the Romanian-Soviet ones carried out principally in Stockholm. Further, in his report it was noted that among Hitlerist Germany's satellite countries, Romania played a prominent, important role. Romania's withdrawal from the war at a certain point (the spring or, at the latest, summer 1944) and its eventual involvement in the anti-Hitlerist war, was capable of leading and did lead to the rapid collapse of the entire Hitlerist defense system in the Balkans and in the middle and lower Danube. These considerations caused the Soviet government and military command, at the end of 1943, to take into consideration the initiation of certain secret peace negotiations with the Antonescu government. The first Romanian-Soviet contacts in Stockholm preceded by three months the mission of Prince Stirbey to Cairo, via Ankara. Secondly, if Stirbey was not capable of presenting his plenipotence neither on behalf of Antonescu nor on behalf of the antifascist opposition, the negotiations in Stockholm were of an entirely different nature. In Stockholm, there were secret inter-governmental negotiations carried out between the two parties found directly in armed conflict. A ceasefire on the front would have been equivalent to an immediate implementation of a negotiated armistice while armed actions by Romanian units in collaboration with Soviet units against Germany would have been equivalent to establishing a status of cobelligerent for Romania (something, moreover, not fully understood from the content of the Soviet proposals of 11 April 1944). Nano, Romania's minister to Sweden, invested with the necessary plenipotence, negotiated from April to June 1944, including the specification and completion of some of the Soviet proposals for an armistice (for example, the problem of free zones where the Soviet troops were prohibited from entering; the obtaining of a 15 day interval from the time of the declaration of Romania's withdrawal from the war, a period in which the Romanian army could independently and without Soviet control effect the removal of the Hitlerists from the country; the problem regarding Romanian-Soviet military cooperation and so forth).

Although the Romanian-Soviet negotiations at Stockholm, as well as those held in Cairo by Stirbey with the representatives of the three great powers did not lead to finalizing a draft text of an armistice, they nonetheless played an important role in the diplomatic preparations for the historical turn of events on 23 August 1944. The fact itself that instead of an unconditional surrender the great powers took into consideration and agreed to conduct diplomatic negotiations, be they with the Romanian government or with the antifascist opposition, represented an important preparatory step. The mutual expression of points of view, the negotiation of certain paragraphs and so forth made known in capital letters the point of view of both parties involved, even before 23 August 1944.

Then, Dr Florin Constantiniu, a scientific researcher at the "Nicolae Iorga" Institute of History, presented the report "Diplomatic Aspects of the Crisis of the Antonescu Regime on the Eve of the Insurrection." On the basis of certain new sources from the files of the British Foreign Office, the author followed the evolution of the relationship of Antonescu's regime with British officials and the attempts by the marshal to establish a channel for negotiations with the Anglo-Americans for the purpose of ensuring a military presence by these forces in Romania. The report centered upon the points where these attempts were made and doomed to failure. First of all, there was Operation Bodyguard in which, up until 6 June 1944, the date of the Allied landing in France, the interest of the Anglo-Americans was to alert the Germans to Romania's possible withdrawal from the war and an Anglo-American operation in the area in order to cause the Germans to concentrate their troops in that area rather than increase their forces in France. The publicity surrounding Prince B. Stirbey's arrival in Cairo was recorded in the requirements of Operation Bodyguard. According to the Allied instructions written in view of the negotiations in Cairo, the Romanian side should not realize that the possibility of an Anglo-American military action in favor of Romania was excluded. Secondly, there was the Anglo-Soviet agreement regarding the establishment of the positions of the two great powers towards Romania and Greece.

In March-April 1944, confronted with a grave military situation, Ion Antonescu declared that he was disposed, in the event of receiving assistance from Great Britain and the United States of America, to breaking away from the Reich. The stabilization of the front in northern Moldavia, however, "tempered" the disposition of the Romanian dictator. After the Rastenburg interview of 5-6 August 1944, Ion Antonescu told the Turkish minister to Bucharest, Suphi Tannioer, that it is neither possible nor in the interest of Romania to take action against Germany. On the eve of the Soviet offensive within the framework of the Iasi-Chisinau operation, Ion Antonescu again increased

his demarches to the Anglo-Americans, in a last-hour effort to draw them in and get them to have an interest in his failing regime. Promises of great concessions in the petroleum and extraction industries and so forth and total political loyalty were offered in pursuit of this objective.

The diplomacy of the Antonescu regime, it was pointed out in the end of the report, expressed the symptoms of the profound crisis in which the regime was struggling and which it was called upon to serve. Disorientation, an absence of a realistic perception of the international situation, and the ignoring of the Romanian people's fundamental interests were aspects of the decay of this diplomacy. The revolution for social and national, antifascist and anti-imperialist liberation, led by the RCP, was to provide an authentic solution to getting out of the tragic impasse into which Romania had been led by the Antonescu regime and the Hitlerist occupation.

The place and role of the Romanian insurrection, Dr Cristian Popisteanu, the chief editor of the review MAGAZIN ISTORIC, in his report "New International Echoes of the Romanian Insurrection in August 1944," was lively commented upon and appreciated at that time for its impact upon the outcome of the Second World War in over 2,000 historiographic works in numerous countries. The diversity of the authors who wrote about the event is also demonstrated by the fact that they are not only historians, but also politicians, writers and military personnel. Thus, Andre Malraux wrote ten years ago: "On this same day of 23 August 1944 (when Paris was liberated - I.C.) in another part of Europe, the armed insurrection broke out in Bucharest, opening the way for the liberation of Romania from Hitlerist domination." And, in his work dedicated to the history of the Second World War, the celebrated commentator Liddell-Hart compared the German defeat in Romania to a new Stalingrad.

Continuing, the author gave numerous examples of foreign works in which the Romanian people's energetic act of will on 23 August 1944, is eulogistically appreciated. Thus, in "Istoria Velikoi Otecestvennoi voini Sovetskogo Soiuza. 1941-1945" (Vol 6, Moscow, 1962) it is written: "During the fighting in Bucharest and in other regions, the Romanian troops and the patriotic war formations captured 53,159 German prisoners, including 14 generals and over 1,200 officers (...). Romania's participation in the war after 23 August made it possible for them to make their contribution to the cause of defeating fascist Germany, to reestablish their national independence and to establish a democratic order in their country (...). Because of the operations in Romania, the enemy strategic front in the southern sector was broken for a distance of several hundred kilometers."

A Polish historian, Wladzimierz I. Kowalski, in his work "Wielka koalicja. 1941-1945" (Vol 2, Warsaw, 1973-1975), mentions: "Romania's move to the side of the United Nations facilitated the situation of the Soviet Army's Second and Third Ukrainian Fronts (...). The events on the Romanian front sealed the fate of the German Army Group in this area and Hitler agreed to the evacuation of Greece and southern Yugoslavia... We must agree with the authors who point out that Romania's move to the side of the United Nations changed the strategic situation in this part of Europe, speeding the final defeat of Hitlerist Germany. That is how the Germans themselves saw it."

The prestigious "New Encyclopaedia Britannica" (Vol 30, New York, 1977) writes: "This long premeditated volte-face prepared the way for three great offensives unleashed in the fall by the Soviet forces: to the southwest, crossing Bulgaria where they met no resistance; to the west, through the Danube valley and across the Yugoslav border; to the northwest, across the Carpathians into Transylvania."

Numerous contemporary sources, the report pointed out, placed Romania in fourth place after the USSR, the USA and England during the period from 23 August 1944 to the final victory over Nazism. The great majority of comments that have appeared in the world press belonged to the military historians who placed as judiciously as possible the Romanian people's act of will in the context of its implications for the course of the war. Today as well, this characteristic, the speaker emphasized, has allowed these evaluations to resist the test of time, with them being confirmed by the evolution of military and political events. The author reproduced numerous comments from the press of the time which illustrated the powerful echo that 23 August 1944 had in the awareness of contemporaries and the importance that they gave to the events in Romania. Thus, in a commentary that appeared in the 25 August 1944 issue of the newspaper AKSAM under the signature of Necmettin Sadak, later the minister of foreign affairs of Turkey, after he stressed that 23 August represented a date that will occupy a place in the forefront of the history of the last phase of the war, the following remark was made: "The loss of Romania (by the Germans - I.C.) will constitute the beginning of the loss of the Balkans and will provoke the quick fall of Bulgaria and Hungary..."

Numerous Swiss newspapers made pertinent analyses of the historic moment of the Romanian insurrection and its general consequences in international affairs. Thus, LA SUISSE wrote: "In Southeast Europe, Romania's gesture was for Germany a blow perhaps more difficult than was that of Italy a year ago." An article by the reputed British historian Robert William Seton-Watson, published in the 25 September 1944 issue of the MANCHESTER GUARDIAN daily, under the title "The Decline of the Quislings. The German Fall in the Balkans," noted the inter-

national significance of Romania's insurrection: "It had become clear that the removal of Romania from the Nazi grasp, a surprising action and one crowned with success, was to have giant repercussions in all of Southeast Europe and that it could help speed the end of the war..."

Great attention was also given to the historic act of 23 August 1944 by the Vatican organ L'OSSERVATORE ROMANO, as well as the press in Portugal and Spain. According to the author's research in recent years, the radio station BBC gave considerable time to commenting upon the impact of the Romanian insurrection, with the English radio station also being the first mass media organ to transmit this important news, one hour after the announcement in Bucharest of the historic event of 23 August. On 24 August, at nine o'clock in the morning, the chief of the BBC's European news service felt that "by Romania's act the fate of all the Balkan countries was sealed. Hitler's days are numbered."

The event of the greatest significance in the history of the Romanian people, opening the revolution for social and national, antifascist and anti-imperialist liberation, the insurrection in August 1944 had a broad echo on the international scene, substantially influencing the course of the Second World War in East and Southeast Europe, pointed out Captain Mihail E. Ionescu, a researcher at the Center for Study and Research of Military History and Theory, in his report "The Impact of the Romanian Insurrection in August 1944 upon the Course of the Second World War." In the strategic sense, the Romanian insurrection constituted a disintegrating blow both for the German forces on the southern flank of the Soviet-German front and for the Wehrmacht's defense in the Balkan Peninsula. The Soviet forces were able to eliminate, as a result, in record time the powerful strategic group "the Southern Ukraine" and in only 15 days to reach the Romanian-Yugoslav border, exploiting what the British military theoretician B. H. Liddell-Hart called "the largest open flank ever known in modern warfare." In support of this statement, the author brought forth revealing notes from the war journals of the Southern Ukraine group of armies and the Nazi's strategic group "F" in the Balkan Peninsula, as well as other documents. Also worthy of note are those that compare the proportions of the catastrophe suffered by the Wehrmacht in Romania in August 1944, with those inflicted upon the Germans at Stalingrad by the Soviet troops in the winter of 1942-1943.

Also in a strategic sense, there was great significance in the insurrectional forces holding the strategic bridgehead in the southern part of Transylvania and Crisana, as well as in the Banat

where the Romanian and Soviet forces were able to concentrate for the purpose of the later offensives and which kept from the Hitlerist command the possibility of mounting a defensive front along the Carpathians. At the same time, the Romanian insurrection produced a substantial change in the balance of forces in the conflict in favor of the United Nations, both in the human potential added to the fight against the Reich and in the strategic raw materials that became inaccessible to the Reich, especially oil. From this last point of view, it is well known what the Wehrmacht command had to say about the importance of losing Romanian oil in the stopping of German war machines (Field Marshal Rundstedt stated that the stopping of the Hitlerist war machines was due, in addition to the Allied air bombardment, to the loss of Romanian oil).

The military-strategic effects of the Romanian act of August 1944 caused Hitler to number it among the far-reaching military crises during 1944 (in addition to the Soviet forces' destruction of the Central Group of Armies and the Allied landing at Normandy on 6 June).

On the political level, the Romanian revolutionary act had similar important consequences. First of all, it spectacularly accelerated the break-up of the military-political bloc dominated by the Third Reich, by the example that it gave to the minor partners in the Reich. Finland, just two days after the opening of the Romanian revolution, decided to engage in final armistice negotiations with the Soviet Union. In the last days of August 1944, Bulgaria proclaimed its neutrality and in Hungary it produced a government crisis resulting in the change of the cabinet, deciding to continue the war on Germany's side and bringing on Romania's attack. In conclusion, the speaker pointed out that the analysis of the military and political consequences of the Romanian people's armed uprising upon the outcome of the last world conflagration permits the conclusion that the act carried out by Romania was one of the most significant of the 1939-1945 period in the international arena.

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## ROMANIA

### SYMPOSIUM ON DISARMAMENT NOTED

Bucharest REVISTA ROMANA DE STUDII INTERNATIONALE in Romanian No 4,  
Oct-Dec 79 pp 536-540

[Article by Nicolae Calina: "A Symposium of the Association of International Law and International Relations: 'The Arms Race in Europe. The Need to Adopt Certain Urgent Measures for Military Disengagement and Disarmament'"]

[Text] At the initiative of the Association of International Law and International Relations [ADIRI], a group of specialists in the problem of disarmament from the Institute of Political Science and the Study of National Problems, the Center of Study and Research of Military History and Theory, diplomats and members of ADIRI organized a symposium on 26 June 1979, within the framework of which they dealt with the multiple aspects of the unusually important field of military disengagement and disarmament in Europe.

The symposium was opened by Nicolae Fotino, the scientific director of ADIRI and the chief editor of REVISTA ROMANA DE STUDII INTERNATIONALE, who, pointing out the gravity and negative implications of the arms race that is occurring in Europe, stressed the importance and great timeliness of the Romanian proposals regarding general disarmament and, above all, nuclear disarmament that are applicable at the global, zonal and subregional levels. This symposium, in dealing with an extremely important question for the cause of international peace and security not only on the European continent, but also on the global scale, must serve as an adequate means for a broad exchange of opinions and conclusions that are separate from some of the research undertaken by the Romanian specialists.

Nicolae Moraru, the principal researcher at the Institute of Political Science and the Study of National Problems, mentioned that in dealing with the phenomenon as broad as the arms race in Europe we must begin with the party and state programmatic documents and with the evaluations and positions expressed repeatedly by president Nicolae Ceausescu.

Given the gravity of the arms race in Europe, it is necessary to analyze the causes, status and forms of expression and negative implications of substance and scope of this phenomenon for the purpose of defining the ways and means to eliminate it from European and international relations.

The arms race in Europe stems from causes that have their origins both in the world system of international relations and in the specific situation on the continent: the basing of the concept of security on the anachronic policy of resorting to force and/or the threat of force, which feeds the perception of insecurity, conferring exponential growth rates to national military potentials; the existence of multilateral international "security" structures left over from the period of the cold war, such as opposed military blocs which led not only to the polarization of the member states and the artificial division of Europe, but amplified the arms race not only in these states, on the principle of action-reaction-superreaction, and led to including states not participating in blocs in the arms race out of prevention and precaution; the partial transfer of the ideological struggle into the subsystem of military security; the intention of certain influential circles in some countries to resort to military solution to resolve certain existing litigations or differences in their relations with other countries, through the eventual resort to force and/or the threat of force; the building of certain informal relations between certain groups existing in the national subsystems of countries, the so-called military-industrial complexes, whose interests may coincide and which maintains the arms race through an inverse connection.

The multiple causes of the arms race in Europe had as a result the implication of all European states in this race, of course in different degrees and at different intensities, regardless of their size, economic and human potential, geographic position, social-political system, membership or non-membership in military blocs, or level of social-economic development.

With regards to the status or state of the arms race in Europe at the 1978 level, it is worth stressing that in the total worldwide military expenditures of \$410 billion (at current prices), the countries taking part in CSCE had 73.6 percent, while the two military blocs - NATO and the Warsaw Pact - had 71.4 percent. At the level of the geographic area of the signatories of the Final Act of the CSCE in the total of their military expenditures, the two blocs accounted for 96.9 percent, the European countries belonging to the blocs had 62.1 percent and those European countries not participating in military blocs and alliances accounted for 3.1 percent. At a geographic level, although northern and central Europe continued to account for the main percentage of

continental military expenditures, in recent years there has been a tendency of the rapid growth of the percentage held by the European countries in southern Europe and the Balkans. The growth of "European" military expenditures has led to an increase in the strength of military personnel, to the production, operation and maintenance of an ever greater number of weapons systems. In other words, the vertical pace of arming in Europe has moved from quantity to quality both at the eurostrategic and conventional levels. President Nicolae Ceausescu noted: "The most serious phenomenon in Europe is, however, is the continuation of the arms race at never-before encountered rates and the accumulation of better and better weapons, including nuclear weapons, which place an ever greater burden on the people and present dangers to their security, constituting, at the same time, a factor accentuating the economic crisis and international instability."\*

The intensification of the arms race in Europe bears negative influences not only upon the perspectives of building a real climate of European security, but also upon the efforts for building the new international economic order and democratizing international relations, ever more profoundly endangering international peace and security. The negative effects of the arms race upon European military security could principally be illustrated by the following: the potential reduction of the security of the countries on the continent; the antforce strategy leads to strategic destabilization, increases the possibility and, therefore, the risk of resorting to force and the unleashing of a nuclear war; the improvement of nuclear weapons, by producing certain types with enhanced radiation and limited collateral destruction, reduces the "nuclear threshold" and makes possible their use right from the beginning of a potential conflict, bringing incalculable destructive consequences on a global scale; the diversification of nuclear and conventional arsenals, as a result of the accelerated development of military science and technology, makes very difficult their comparative analysis and, through this, makes difficult the process of disarmament negotiations. On a broader scale, the negative consequences of the arms race are: the slowing of the process of furthering inter-European relations on diverse levels; military expenditures represent an ever more difficult economic burden for all countries, reducing the developed countries' capabilities to grant the necessary assistance to eliminate

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\* Nicolae Ceausescu, "Speech at the Joint Solemn Session of the Romanian Communist Party Central Committee, the National Council of the Socialist Unity Front and the Grand National Assembly Dedicated to the 60th Anniversary of the Creation of the Unified Romanian National State," 1 December 1978, Bucharest, Politica Publishing House, 1978, p 50.

economic underdevelopment, thus increasing the gaps that separate these countries from the developing nations, with these nations also implicated in the arms race.

The elimination of the arms race in Europe requires, therefore, not only solutions at the global systems level of international relations, but also at the European level, with military disengagement and disarmament on the continent. The establishment of a real peace on the European continent requires, therefore, the creation of an efficient system of security, an objectives that presupposes the existence of a general-European policy, an objective capable of offering the possibility of dealing with priorities and stages of disengagement and disarmament within a democratic structure of negotiations with the participation of all countries. This calls for the abandonment of the imperialist policies of force and dictate, of resorting to force and/or the threat of force, the policy of artificially dividing the continent, and the basing of inter-European relations on the principles of contemporary international law, which would offer the perspective of going beyond bloc policy by having the effective participation in all stages of negotiations of all the interested/implicated countries in the process of European security. From the point of view of the countries' participation in military disengagement and European disarmament, the following are foreseeable: unilateral, bilateral and multilateral military disengagement and disarmament on a subregional and European level and the limitation and then elimination of strategic weapons; and, military disengagement and disarmament as an integral part of a global action negotiated in United National organs. If the first two direction appear improbable in the near future, the last four are either in the early process of negotiation or in the process of negotiation.

As measures for the reduction of expenditures, troops and arms, the following categories must be kept in mind: 1. the freezing and then reduction of military budgets; 2. the freezing and then reduction of national troop levels and the level of those stationed, in various forms, on the territories of other countries; 3. the freezing and reduction of Euro-strategic, tactical-nuclear and conventional weapons systems; 4. the creation of nuclear-free zones; 5. the establishment of demilitarized zones on the borders of countries; 6. confidence building measures and the growth of stability. Political-diplomatic reality shows, however, without a doubt, that this broad range of possible actions still has many empty, unexplored and unnegotiated areas. Without underestimating the importance of certain eventual bilateral negotiations, it is absolutely necessary, with the force of the desire imposed by European realities, that the full range of probable measures for military disengagement and disarmament in Europe be placed in discussion and negotiation by all the states interested and/or implicated in the building of a climate of real European security.

In socialist Romania's concept, the initial freezing and then reduction of the countries' military budgets, including those countries that signed the Final Act of CSCE, at the 1978 level would be of special importance in stopping and reversing the course of the arms race so that, in 1985, it would be reduced to a level 10 to 15 percent below that of the level in 1978. In his speech at the Joint Solemn Session of the Romanian Communist Party Central Committee, the National Council of the Socialist Unity Front and the Grand National Assembly Dedicated to the 60th Anniversary of the Creation of the Unified Romanian State, president Nicolae Ceausescu made a series of proposals which, together with the initiatives expressed in the document entitled "The Decision of the Romanian Communist Party Central Committee Regarding Romania's Position in the Problems of Disarmament and, First of All, Nuclear Disarmament," although they have a character or global area of applicability, they have special relevance for unleashing the process of military disengagement and disarmament in Europe and are designed to ensure the establishment of a real system of security on the continent.

The analysis of the military situation on the continent of Europe potentially offers two great directions for evolution: 1. the continuation and intensification of the arms race, foreseeing the attainment of more and more precarious and irrational levels of balance, with the full range of serious consequences both on inter-European relations and international relations, slowing the establishment not only of a climate of real European security, but also of the new international economic order and the democratization of international relations, endangering gravely world peace and security; 2. under the conditions of the political will of the implicated and interested countries and of the intensification of the struggle of social and political forces, the move to radical measures of proportions for military disengagement and disarmament in Europe, an undoubtedly complex objective that is imperative not only for European security, but also for international peace and security, would effectively contribute to the improvement of international relations, offering the possibility for solving certain great problems, such as: underdevelopment, building the new international economic order and democratizing interstate relations.

Nicolae Calina, chief scientific researcher at the Institute of Political Science and the Study of National Problems, showed some of the peculiarities of the arms race in the Balkans which place it in a different situation, if it would be considered in comparison to Central Europe, Northern Europe and, partially, Southern Europe, without, however, cancelling the common elements and specific elements of the overall European group.

A primary finding that is required is the existence in the area of a certain balance both in an intersystemic and trilateral way (members of NATO, the Warsaw Pact and countries not belonging to blocs).

According to the "1979 SIPRI Yearbook," the military expenditures of the Balkan states grew, in constant prices, from \$3,024 billion in 1970, or 1.2 percent of the total worldwide expenditures, to \$5,148 billion, or 1.9 percent of the world total. In current prices, the military expenditures of the Balkan states were in 1977 \$8,329 billion, representing 2.3 percent of the world total. Such an evolution of financial resources for military purposes in the Balkans does not coincide with the tendencies expressed in general in the policy of military allocations of the two opposed military blocs. Moreover, not even the annual rate of growth coincides with that of the two blocs. In other words, the explication of this relatively autonomous policy of allocating financial resources for military purposes must have its origins in the manner in which the decision-making authorities in these states perceive or evaluate the principal danger to their national security during a given period.

Keeping in mind the fact that during the period 1974 to 1976, the greatest increases in the military expenditures in these states were recorded, of course in unequal amounts, one can advance the working hypothesis that they were reacting, at least during the 1970's, to the strains and tensions that appeared both in the region, between certain countries, and in their immediate vicinity - the critical situation in the Middle East, the military balance of forces in the Mediterranean Sea and the events on Cyprus in 1974.

In another sense, the curve of military expenditures in the Balkans appears to be close to the rapid growth tendency for military expenditures in the vast area of the developing nations.

This relative autonomy of the curve of military allocations in the Balkans emphasizes clearly the specific nature of this region and makes inopportune and illogical the attempts to geographically extend this area, to blame other countries and so forth.

At the same time, the situation in the Balkans reveals the special importance of political regulation, in the spirit of mutual respect for interests, of certain existing legal problems between some Balkan states and of negotiated solutions for the situation in Cyprus, on the basis of respecting their integrity and independence, ensuring peaceful coexistence between the two communities. In a broader sense, the increase in the exchange of political visits between the decision-making authorities in these countries plays a special role in attenuating mistrust that still exists between some countries, contributing to the improvement of inter-Balkan relations.

The analysis of the situation in the Balkans occasions the finding that the region lends itself both to firm measures for military disengagement and disarmament at the level of Europe and to agreed upon actions at the subregional level, as a result of certain endogeneous initiatives. This state of affairs confers great importance and timeliness to the known Romanian proposals regarding the Balkans.

President Nicolae Ceausescu declared: " In this sense, we feel it is necessary to work for the extension of means of cooperation in the Balkan countries in various fields and for the broadening of contacts and meetings at different levels, including the creation of certain organs for cooperation in different fields of activity, thus ensuring the transformation of the Balkans into a region of good neighbors, cooperation, peace and detente, and into a region free of nuclear weapons, in which there are no foreign military troops and bases and where the policy of force or the threat of force is completely abolished."

Colonel Traian Grozea, of the Center of Study and Research of Military History and Theory, felt that in the analysis of the complex phenomenon of the arms race in Europe, as well as in the world, we must keep in mind also the phenomenon of the presence of foreign military forces on the territories of other countries, which occurs in various forms: troops, bases, military facilities, installations, military assistance and so forth. According to the data accessible to the public, currently over 1,400,000 soldiers are stationed outside their national borders, assigned to the continents as follows: Europe - 1,022,000; Asia and Oceania - 300,000; Africa - 80,000; Latin America - 16,000. With regards to the dispersal of foreign military bases, Europe holds first place, with 700, followed in order by: Asia - 200; Africa - 100; and, Latin America - 15. At the same time, given the great density of foreign military personnel and bases located in Europe, some clarification are required to show the real and extremely dangerous dimensions of the foreign military presence: the number of European countries on whose territory foreign military troops are located is 18, compared to the 35 countries that signed the Final Act of Helsinki; the relationship between the foreign personnel and the contingent of national forces reaches, in some cases, high levels, placing it between 75 and 245 percent. Keeping in mind the intensification of the struggle to consolidate and extend the spheres of influence that is on-going between certain countries and/or groups of countries, this helps to increase the foreign military presence in Africa and the penetration of certain outside interests both in economic assistance and especially military assistance.

With regards to the troop strengths of certain great powers stationed abroad, the number is between 55,000 and 600,000, reaching in some cases to over 30 percent of the national forces of some small countries, which means fifth place with regards to the number of troops located outside their own national borders and stationed abroad.

The careful research of the tendencies that are exhibited in this field shows the possibilities for increasing the foreign military presence in other regions of the world as well, which confers upon this phenomenon not only a characteristic, but also a global danger with negative effects upon the independence and sovereignty of countries and the independence of the political decision-making leaders. As in other components of the arms race on the European and global levels, firm measures are urgently required to stop, reduce and eliminate the foreign military presence, regardless of the form it may take, on the territory of other states. Unquestionably, there would even be a certain importance in the symbolic reduction of the foreign military presence, be it unilateral, bilateral or multilateral (as is the case of the Vienna negotiations regarding the reduction of troops and arms and the adjacent measures in Central Europe). Although this would not affect the balance of forces and would, therefore, not create dangers for the countries involved, it would have a pronounced political and psychological importance, proving the possibility of reaching an appropriate agreement and thus opening the way towards substantive negotiations on military disengagement and disarmament.

Colonel Ion Marariu of the Center of Study and Research of Military History and Theory, in referring to the arms race in Europe, was of the opinion that the necessary importance must also be accorded to a perhaps much less known parameter, the value of military expenditures per soldier. This parameter shows not only the level of technical equipment for troops, but permits the finding that in case of emergencies it is possible to rapidly increase the number of troops, with the necessary equipment existing for recently inducted personnel. This is why this parameter is very high in the case of the developed capitalist countries, over \$35,000 per soldier in the case of the United States, while some nonaligned states in Europe allocate under \$2,000 per soldier.

The arms race that is going on in Europe, as well as throughout the world, is especially damaging for the developing nations, creates dangers for the sovereignty of small and medium-sized countries which do not have the human, industrial, scientific and appropriate military potential comparable to that of the great powers and destabilizes lower levels of balance, pushing them towards totally irrational balances. If the European countries would show the necessary political will, the military balances could be stabilized at lower levels. This

would have positive political consequences since the existing arsenals are absolutely irrational with regards to their destructive capacity. On the other hand, the European military situation shows that, despite certain many times negligible imbalances, there is a general balance that could be maintained with the immediate perspective of reducing it to lower levels, which would contribute to the considerable amelioration of the general-European climate.

Constantin Tinca, a diplomat and a member of ADIRI, insisted upon the danger of the thesis that is still circulating not only at a scientific level, but also on a political level, that the very high levels of the military balance in Europe have allowed Europe to avoid armed conflicts. A primary critical finding against this theory is that peace, as well as the new world economic order, are not compatible with the carrying out of an arms race that is practically uncontrollable. Secondly, security in Europe does not propose merely the absence of certain conflicts, but presupposes the establishment of a broad framework of collaboration and cooperation between all countries, regardless of size, potential, level of development or social-political system, under conditions of moving to firm, decisive and radical measures for military disengagement and disarmament. In conclusion, the balance between security and the arms race is nearly proportionately inverse. In other words, an accelerated dynamism, a spiral, exponential development of the arms race in fact generates insecurity.

Sergiu Celac, a member of ADIRI, stressed that the analysis of the arms race in Europe, as well as in the world, shows the fact that military authorities have acquired an increased degree of autonomy, escaping from the control of the politician although the military is a component of the political. In another area, paralleling the growth of uncertainties which feed the arms race, in recent times it has also helped to erode or separate the constituent binding of alliances. This finds its expression in an adhesion and a nuanced availability different from conforming to a bloc policy and in the diversification of interests and the growth of an autonomous capacity of the political powers to represent them. Under these conditions, research would be useful on the degree of adhesion of the European countries to a bloc policy, on the social-political conditions which bring about behavioral autonomy in political power of an increased nature and on the practical positions of the states towards the problems of the immediate international environment in which each state, be they European or global problems.

Professor Dr. docent Edwin Glaser, a member of ADIRI, evaluated the irrationality of the structure of the concept of security based on military factors, on military balances and on the arms race. The

danger of a worldwide conflagration is increased and becomes irrational since it could be unilaterally unleashed as a result of an erroneous decision by terrorist elements or desperate or unbalanced elements from a psychological point of view. On the other hand, the continually growing military balances have become irrational since they no longer represent elements of real discouragement or restraint for a presumptuous adversary. On the level of international law, the right to have peace must be affirmed as one of the fundamental rights of man and mankind, with nuclear war being the most serious crime against a person and humanity.

Leon Talpa, the principal researcher at the Institute of Political Science and the Study of National Problems, mentioned in his short speech that, despite the attempts that are being made in some specialized works on the subject, international relations are undoubtedly proving that the military factor is not longer the main determining factor in the evolution of international relations. The national and social liberation movements and the struggle of certain peoples against imperialist aggression have proved and continue to prove the fact that military power can no longer be translated into political influence and the fact that the people, united in their national and social aspirations, can undo the plans and aggression of certain imperialist military powers that are quantitatively superior from a military point of view.

In concluding the discussions, Nicolae Fotino took the floor and stressed the special utility of exchanges of views, such as the symposium, on the need to put an end to the arms race in Europe and to move to substantive negotiations regarding military disengagement and disarmament on the continent, with the participation of all the interested or implicated countries. The stopping and reduction of the arms race would allow the intensification of the efforts to create a real system of European security. As is known, European security and cooperation occupy a central place in socialist Romania's concerns in foreign policy and in its prestigious foreign activities, with a broad and international influence and recognition of president Nicolae Ceausescu, for the purpose of building certain new interstate relations and a better and more just world.

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REPORT ON MOSCOW POLITICAL SCIENCES CONGRESS

Bucharest VIITORUL SOCIAL in Romanian No 4, Oct-Dec 79 pp 813-817

[Article by Leon Talpa: "11th World Congress of the International Political Science Association"]

[Text] The big international scientific meeting that was held in Moscow, the 11th World Congress of the International Political Science Association (AISP), united 1,600 scientists from 58 countries. Held for the first time in a socialist country, the congress was the largest and most important (in subject matter) scientific meeting that the AISP has ever organized. The large number of reports (530) and speakers (968) is sufficient to bear out that description by statistical arguments alone.

The discussions of the congress were focused on three broad subjects: the policy of peace, development and change of political systems, and accumulation of knowledge in the social sciences. These were the subjects of the main sections, to which 17 research committees, seven study groups and 38 special sessions were added. We may say that, essentially, the subject matter of the congress consisted of major problems whose political significance was of interest to the researchers engaged in theoretical substantiation of the measures that will be based upon dialog, cooperation and understanding and will lead to a lasting peace in the world. And one of the most striking features of the congress was the political character of the proceedings, which enabled the scientists present (representatives of the main trends in current political science) to express the states' positions on the great international problems. The working atmosphere of scientific discussion and constructive dialog, with sound arguments based on studies and analyses of the political facts, should also be noted. Nor was there any lack of comparisons of conflicting ideas and views which, however, did not disturb the normal proceedings of the congress.

The congress occasioned a confirmation of Marxist thought, on which scientists from both socialist and Western countries reported. The interest taken in this subject was proved by the extensive participation in the proceedings of the study group that discussed the development of Marxist science.

We should note from the start the active presence of the Romanian representatives in the discussions of all subjects in the program. The Romanian reports pertinently analyzed the positions of the RCP and the ideas of President Nicolae Ceausescu on the great current problems, as well as the theoretical and practical aspects of building the fully developed socialist society in Romania. The Romanian delegates' contributions were evaluated by many members of the congress, who pointed out the good quality of Romania's international initiatives, the correctness of its positions based upon a scientific, objective analysis of the realities of the world in which we live, and its profound commitment to the cause of peace and good will among peoples. We also mention that representatives of Romanian political science headed some of the sections of the congress, namely Univ Prof Dr Ioan Ceterchi (Use of Knowledge in Social Sciences), Univ Prof Dr Constantin Vlad (Peace and Change of the World Order), and Univ Prof Dr Ovidiu Trasnea (Modern World's Political Values and Standards).

We shall discuss below some essential aspects of the proceedings of the congress, noting that they serve only as examples because no exhaustive treatment of the dominant notes is possible within the space of this report. And as the new president of the AISP, the Brazilian professor Candido Mendes, pointed out in the speech closing the proceedings, the great volume of reports read and the discussions held in the 6 days of the meeting will require a long time for reflection and careful study to bring out all the new points and contributions made by this scientific forum to the development of the contemporary political sciences.

The problems of war and peace aroused keen interest both in defining the concepts as such and in the ways of preserving peace. In reviewing the various definitions of peace, the Dutch specialists Henk W. Houweling and Jan G. Siccamo maintained that the concept of peace must be interpreted positively and not just as an absence of war, an idea also supported by the Vatican representative Jean-Yves Calvez, in whose opinion it implies a certain order based on truth, justice, solidarity and freedom.

The highly harmful nature of theories that peace must be maintained by force of arms was emphasized by the Norwegian political scientist Amalendu Guha, who said that a peace based on tension cannot assure a nation's progress and that it originates in rivalries for power and in "hunger for land" and "for raw material sources or strategic bases." Contrasting opinions were compared in the special session on Balance of Power and Integration as Means of Preserving Peace. Some speakers even asserted that the international model based on the existence of national states leads to anarchy and is a source of conflicts (R. K. Ashley, United States), which point aroused strong opposition. A large number of speakers pointed out the highly negative character of such theories and their incompatibility with the states' aspirations to free and independent development and with the unanimously accepted principles of international independence and sovereignty, indicating that it is the denial of the states' inalienable attributes that has been and is a source of conflict and tension in international affairs.

A Marxian analysis of the problems of war and peace was presented by Univ Prof Silviu Brucan, who said the stockpiles of nuclear weapons have made attainment of political goals by means of war irrational in the modern world. He criticized the political institutions that are still operating with outmoded concepts, disregarding the development of modern military technologies and their implications in international affairs. There were also opinions giving both negative and positive values to maintenance of the balance of power.

The armaments race was a much discussed subject at the congress, and many analyses were based on mathematical models. Steven J. Brams (United States) presented such a mathematical model of the competition between two partners in the armaments race, which model indicated the necessity of an arms limitation agreement so that a point will not be reached where the results can only be negative. Along with others present, the Romanian representatives firmly opposed the theories advanced in favor of the armaments race, pointing out that logic requires the "balance" to be sought not by escalating armaments but by reducing them and by instituting real and effective disarmament measures. They stressed the good effects of measures like those proposed by Romania to form a development fund from the sources remaining after freezing of the military budgets of the states, especially the big states, at the present levels. The Romanian delegate Ion Nicolae presented President Nicolae Ceausescu's idea concerning the disarmament problems, to the effect that decisive disarmament measures should be taken, beginning with nuclear disarmament, that will lead to the solution of this basic problem with the participation of all states.

There were many discussions of international conflicts and investigations of ways of settling them peacefully. It was interesting to note the consideration of the economic nature of the conflicts (Ausan Strange, England), indicating a responsible attitude on the part of many scientists trying to eradicate the sources of discord and conflicts threatening international peace and security.

Reflecting socialist Romania's constant efforts to eradicate all international conflicts peacefully by direct negotiations between the interested parties, the Romanian representatives' reports and comments (we cite Univ Prof Mircea Malita's report "Role of the Medium Countries in Resolving International Conflicts: a Romanian Viewpoint") advocated eliminating military solutions and those of force or threat of force from international affairs, which solutions do not eliminate the causes of conflicts and keep alive the danger of their recrudescence.

Subjects of European security and cooperation were also among those that attracted a wide audience in the research committees on Methodological Aspects of the Study of East-West Relations and Factors and Strategies of Peaceful Coexistence. In a pertinent study ("Measurement of Detente in Europe") Prof Dieter Ruloff of Zurich University made a content analysis of the speeches made by the heads of delegations of the countries participating in the CSCE at the general European meetings in Helsinki and Belgrade. The optimistic conclusion of the study was that "Detente in Europe is a remarkably stable reality," despite exaggerated differences of opinion such as those about

human rights that had a bad effect upon the Belgrade meeting. But some participants, including those from Romania, criticized the view that the cohesion of the socialist countries participating in the CSCE "was impaired" at the Belgrade meeting, a view which was absolutely contradicted by the facts and which attested a "bloc outlook," disregarding the very decision entered in the Final Act of Helsinki on the states' participation in the conference "as independent, sovereign states outside of alliances."

The report read by Terence Hopman of the University of Minnesota, "Detente and Security in Europe: Negotiations to Reduce the Forces in Central Europe," was one that aroused lively discussion. Processing an impressive number of figures according to a mathematical index of his own, the author concluded that continued failure of the negotiations could lead to impairment of detente and greater danger of conflicts in Europe. Several speakers criticized the method of selecting the values of the index, for example the same ones for initiatives of different importance of the United States and the USSR. There were also opinions that the mathematical analyses were irrelevant for judging the course of political events, which opinions are exaggerated because the use of scientific research for the factors of political decision has been conclusively established.

Raimo Lintonen (Finland) made a case for creating and consolidating "cooperative structures in Europe" in his report "Detente, the CSCE and the Role of the Nongovernmental Organizations: Outlook of a Small Country." The author concluded that the nongovernmental institutions can help to consolidate detente and develop cooperation in a Europe "where there still are power structures but where the tension in international relations is low."

Researcher Leon Talpa of the Institute of Political Sciences and Study of the National Problem made a comparative analysis of the four phases up to now of the CSCE, demonstrating the necessity of finding, through the joint efforts of theorists and experts, simple, flexible and comprehensive institutional forms that will permit continuation and intensification of the efforts toward effective security and fruitful collaboration on the continent and enable all participating states to contribute to the adoption and implementation of appropriate measures within an institutional framework based on democratic standards.

The Romanian concept of European security was analyzed in depth by Univ Prof Dr Constantin Vlad, who displayed his comprehension of the various components of security in close interdependence: the political and military aspects, the necessity of specific, effective measures for disarmament and military disengagement indispensable to any effective security on the continent, the unity of the 10 principles of European international relations, and the importance of the democratic standards for general-European negotiations, standards that Romania has helped considerably to institute. In the same section, devoted to East-West relations, Dr Constantin Florea spoke on the need of strict observance of the basic principles of international relations, Dr Pavel Suian spoke on relations between CEMA and the Common Market, and Ioan Murg spoke on participation of all states in the solution of the great current problems.

In the research group for problems of the third world, the researcher Ioan Mircea spoke on the nonalignment policy as a developmental factor.

The problems of human rights provoked lively interest and animated discussions. Pointing out the great differences of opinion on the definition of the modern concept of human rights, Harold Berman of Harvard University advocated evaluation of the progress made in this field not on the basis of comparison of the situations in various countries but in consideration of the achievements in each country in comparison with the previous situations, avoiding mutual recriminations. He maintained that improved relations and better understanding can play an important part in making progress in this field. Harold Berman's report was rightly criticized for exaggerating the role of the so-called "international organizations" like Amnesty International and of some private persons who set themselves up as "defenders" of human rights. In reply the Soviet speakers said for example that it is vital not only to proclaim human rights but also to provide the material conditions for every citizen, beginning with proper housing, a job and the opportunity to participate in legislation and social management.

A surprising personal opinion was expressed in the report of Jacques Freymond of the Institute of Higher International Studies in Geneva, entitled "Security and Human Rights Before and After Helsinki." Since there is a great "confusion" ("human rights" and "humanitarian rights"), confusion also occurring in the Final Act of Helsinki, he maintained that therefore the CSCE document is a "destabilizing factor" in Europe. His view was opposed by peremptory arguments from many speakers, including Romanian representatives, who pointed out the historical importance of the Final Act of Helsinki and the CSCE for improving the political climate on the European continent and developing general-European relations. Other opinions of this author's were objective: the necessity of ceasing polemics about human rights, the usefulness of measures to increase confidence among states in this regard, and the necessity of defining the concept of human rights and the political framework in which they must be observed.

The manifestation of the nation as a factor for progress in the modern world, the fight for national liberation, freedom and independence, the need of securing and guaranteeing fully equal rights for national minorities, and the political, social and economic effects of peoples' independent development were the subjects of analyses read in the special study group for Policy and Ethnic Affiliation. It was significant of the interest taken in these problems that they transcended the "limits" of this study group and were also presented in the discussions of human rights in connection with the new international order, the basic rights in a democratic order, political sociology and ideologies, and contemporary political systems. The absence of attacks upon the nation, independence and sovereignty to be found in international confrontations of ideas was in keeping with the purpose of the congress. On the contrary, theorists and researchers, including those from Western countries, stressed the positive, constructive part played by the nation in our era, the mobilizing and cohesive power of national feeling, and the assertion of ethnic affiliation as a factor for progress. For example Prof Charles F.

Doran (Canada) pointed out that under present conditions the nation is a mode of coexistence of human communities that prevents "social fragmentation" from degenerating into fragmentation of the internal forces. To the same effect, Dov Ronen of Harvard University concluded that the nation's multiple functions lend it great drawing power, and the demand for self-determination and independence formulated by the liberation movements in Africa, Asia and other parts of the world is fully justified. Several reports on unification of Western Europe stressed the idea of the close connection between the overall process of integration and the reality of the age-old existence of the nations on the continent. In the opinion of Donald F. Puchala of Columbia University (United States) for example, national decisions will retain their original importance and national governments will continue to be the main protagonists in international affairs. Views of theoretical interest were advanced by several speakers: "ethnic mobilization" by Eric Allardt (Finland), "ethnic diversity": what pluralism and democracy imply, by Dov Ronen, the importance of proportioning the "policy-ethnic affiliation" relationship, by I. Ismaghilova (USSR), the need of establishing a "terms bank" concerning ethnic classification, by Fred D. Riggs (Hawaii), the meanings of the term "national minority" in Romanian theory and practice, by Elena Florea (Romania), the originality of the solution of the minorities problem in Romania, by Francisc Albert (Romania), and the status of minorities in Romania by Dr Marin Nedelea (Romania).

In the discussion of the section he headed, Univ Prof Dr Ovidiu Trasnea brought up problems of the political values and standards in the present world, discussing the political facts in the light of Romania's conception of the political values of socialism, as well as the relations between facts and values in current political science. He advocated establishing principles to substantiate a "code" of conduct whereby science will be placed in the service of all mankind. The concept of a political system and a political regime from the standpoint of Marxist science was analyzed by Univ Prof Dr Marin Voiculescu, who presented the Romanian conception of the content and evolution of the political system in the fully developed socialist society and in the long-range view of communist construction. The problem of the values of self-management in the present stage of Romania's development was the subject of the report of Univ Prof Dr Vasile Nichita, and the structure, elements and evolution of the Romanian political system were analyzed by Univ Prof Hagan Trofin. Dr Nicolae Kallos reported on the political values and their social nature and function, while Radu Florian developed a number of points in connection with the levels of political knowledge. Other talks by speakers from Romania concerned the relationship between socioeconomic development and progress of democracy (Ladislau Lorincz), the main characteristics of planning in Romania (Floares Alecu), the role of culture in political knowledge (Nicolae Novac), the formation and development of the political consciousness (Andrei Vela), and the growth of the autonomy of the local organs in the political system in Romania (Petre Malcomete).

Accumulation of knowledge in political science was the subject of one of the three big sections of the congress. For example the application of the systems theory to political science was focused on definition of the basic concepts, its use in specific fields, and pointing out its advantages and

disadvantages. Joseph Bensman (CCNY) pointed out that none of the concepts of the systems theory can be used as such in the political sciences but must be redefined in terms of these sciences' own subjects, an idea supported by other speakers (I. Teliakin of the USSR and V. Dobroianov of Bulgaria). Richard S. Beal of Jawaharlal Nehru University pointed out that application of the systems theory to the particular fields of the political sciences entails a veritable "work of creation and innovation, and Guenther F. Schaefer (FRG) stipulated that the problem is not one of a mathematical or cybernetic nature but one of conception and general theory.

The critics of the trends toward sophistication of the instruments of the systemic theory represented two main schools, one emphasizing empiricism and determination of mathematical indices, and the other attaching primary importance to conceptualization, general definitions, and overall methods. The above-mentioned confrontations led to a conclusion that correctly expresses, in our opinion and that of most of the speakers, the necessity for application of modern research methodologies to produce results applicable to the political realities and to lead to desired changes.

The congress provided the opportunity for interesting discussions outside the working sections as well, formation of personal contacts among scientists from various countries, and mutual knowledge of research and journalistic activity in the area of the political and social sciences.

Because of its working atmosphere, stimulating discussions of major current problems, its political nature, and the high scientific level of the reports read, the congress was an important event in international scientific affairs and an occasion for constructive dialog about the political phenomena and the studies in this field, a dialog wherein the representatives of Romanian political science brought an original contribution that was highly esteemed by many participants.

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COMMENTS ON MOSCOW POLITICAL SCIENCES CONGRESS

Bucharest REVISTA ROMANA DE STUDII INTERNATIONALE in Romanian No 4, Oct-Dec 79 pp 541-543

[Article by Ion Talpa: "The 11th World Congress of the International Association of Political Science (Moscow, 12-18 August 1979)"]

[Text] For the period of a week, the capital of the Soviet Union hosted the 11th World Congress of the International Association of Political Science, a broad scientific occasion which brought together 1,600 scientists from 58 countries, making this, both in the number of participants and in the level of the reports and discussions, the largest and most important meeting of the Association until now. Similarly, it was the first Congress held in a socialist country, culminating the desire of the Association's leadership to include in its activities researchers from diverse geographic areas and politological schools and representative of the current configuration of the world. Moreover, the next World Congress of the Association will take place in Rio de Janeiro, the capital of a Latin American country, while the newly elected president of the Association is a representative of Brazil, professor Candido Mendes of the Sociedade Brasileira de Instrucao. If we add to this the announced intention of the new president to establish as the working languages of the Association, in addition to the current use of English and French, Russian and Spanish, we can speak of a progressive action in the above-pointed out sense.

A significant factor in the atmosphere for working which dominated the Congress was the great number of persons who presented reports, 530 persons, as well as those who took an active part in the discussions by way of criticisms and presentations, 968 persons out of the total number of participants, in the 17 research committees and 38 study groups covering three principal sections: "The Policy of Peace," "The Policy of Development and Changing Systems" and "The Accumulation of Knowledge in the Field of Social Sciences."

A listing of the 38 themes that provided the center for the proceedings of the study group is impossible in this space. We will illustrate, however, the great variety of themes by giving several titles referring to the field of international relations: "Concepts of Peace," "The Relaxation of International Tensions: the Control of Conflicts," "The Arms Race and the Control of Armaments," "Peace," "The New International Order," "Factors and Strategies for Ensuring Coexistence and Peace," "Detente and Security," "Economic Development and Political Security," "The Nonalignment Policy as a Factor of Development," "Systems Theory in Political Science: Applications and Criticisms," "The Rights of Man and The World Order."

The delegation of scientists from our country actively worked in the diverse research committees and study groups of the Congress, with some of them being headed by representatives of Romanian political science: "The Use of Knowledge in Social Science," headed by university professor Dr Ioan Ceterchi, the chief of the Romanian delegation, "Peace and the Change of the World Order," headed by university professor Dr Constantin Vlad, and "Political Values and Norms of the Contemporary World," by university professor Dr Ovidiu Trasnea.

In the above-mentioned research committees and study groups, as well as in those in which Romanian reports were presented that analyzed the phenomena of contemporary international relations, the basic principles of Romanian foreign policy were revealed, a fundamentally scientific policy, militating for the establishment of a climate of peace and security in the world, for the solution of the problems that confront international affairs by way of negotiations, with the active participation of all interested countries regardless of their size and power, their social and political system or the geographic region where they are located. The Romanian initiatives in the international arena, which have enjoyed a large audience, the originality and dynamism of the policies promoted by socialist Romania, policies bearing the imprint of the personality of president Nicolae Ceausescu, constituted the reference points for the reports and presentations by the Romanian political scientists, listened to with interest by the participants of the Congress and getting appreciation for the policies of our country.

In his report dedicated to the Romanian concept of European security, university professor Dr Constantin Vlad analyzed broadly the different aspects of the concept, calling for the establishment on our continent of a real security and a fruitful cooperation on the basis of the principles of inter-European relations contained in the Helsinki Final Act. A presentation was made of: its ability to include different components of security that are closely interdependent, such as

the political and military aspects; the special stress placed on the need for certain efficient, specific measures for military disarmament and disengagement in Europe, without which one cannot speak of an effective security on the continent; the unity of the ten principles of inter-European relations; and, the importance of the democratic norms for carrying out general-European negotiations, norms that were established with the valuable contributions made by Romania.

University professor Dr Ovidiu Trasnea brought into discussion at the meeting the problem of "The Political Values and Norms in the Contemporary World," a discussion which he headed, stressing the criteria of evaluating political deeds in light of the concepts of our country on the political values of socialism, as well as on the relationships between deeds and values in contemporary political science. He called for the establishment of certain principles that would serve as the basis of a "code" of behavior, where science would serve all mankind and not be used for destructive purposes.

The report signed by university professor Dr Mircea Malita, a corresponding member of the Academy of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and presented in his absence by university professor Dr Constantin Vlad, "The Role of Medium-sized Countries in Resolving Conflicts Between States: A Romanian Point of View," brought out arguments in favor of the possibility of controlling and resolving conflicts through peaceful means by way of talks and negotiations and through the participation of all implicated parties, as Romania has called for and is calling for. In addition to other factors that can contribute to the solution of international conflicts by way of negotiations, the author pointed out that a significant role can be played by the medium-sized countries directly interested in eliminating the state of tension and conflict in international affairs.

University professor Dr Marin Voiculescu dedicated his report to a theme discussed within the framework of the study group "The Transformation of Social and Political, Historical and Modern Systems." The author theoretically defined from a materialist-historical perspective of political science the concept of a political system and a political regime in general and, especially, in a socialist structure. The Romanian concept was presented regarding the political system, its content and its dynamism in the building of a multi-laterally developed socialist society and in the future building of communism.

"War and Peace Today - A Marxist View" was the theme of the report by university professor Silviu Brucan who made a critical analysis of the contemporary international system, a system in which the accumulation of nuclear weapons has made the solution of certain political goals via war an irrational option. Pointing out that some political institutions are working with outdated concepts, without keeping in mind the development of modern military technology and its implication in international affairs, the author was in favor of eliminating those factors that constitute potential sources of conflict in the contemporary international system.

Within the framework of the research committee "The Factors and Strategies of Coexistence and Peace," principal scientific researcher Leon Talpa presented the report "The Institutionalization of the Process of Building European Security and Cooperation." Starting with the comparative analysis of the four phases until now in the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe and the theoretical models dedicated to European security, the author called for finding certain encompassing, simple and sufficient institutional forms through the joint efforts of theoreticians and practitioners that will permit the continuation and intensification of the efforts designed to lead to an effective security and a fruitful cooperation on the continent and that will permit all participating states to make their contribution to adopting and implementing certain appropriate measures within a fundamental institutional framework based on democratic norms.

Presentations were also made in the study group dedicated to international relations: Dr Ioan Murg, on the democratization of international relations and the participation of all states in the solution of the problems confronting international life, Dr Pavel Suian, on the relations between CEMA and the Common Market, Dr Constantin Florea, on the need to strictly respect the fundamental principles of relations between states, Dr Ion Nicolae, on president Nicolae Ceausescu's concept regarding the problems of disarmament, a concept which foresees the move to concrete, decisive measures for disarmament, beginning with nuclear disarmament, and measures designed to lead to the solution of these fundamental problems of mankind with the participation of all states, and Ioan Mircea Pascu, on the policy of nonalignment as a factor of development.

The variety and large number of reports presented in the research committees and study groups of the Congress dedicated to the field of international relations also makes it difficult to list them here. For that reason, we will limit ourselves to some observations of a general nature.

In the organizers' concept, validated by the interested stirred up during the proceedings at the Congress, first place was given to the problems of "The Concepts of Peace" and "The Decrease of International Tensions: Regulating and Controlling Conflicts." Among the themes presented, we note: "The Dynamics of Overcoming and Returning to Peace in the Law of Nations," a report by professor Jean-Paul Charnay of the University of Paris, "About the Concept of Conflict and Peace," an analysis by Amalendu Guha of Oslo, "The Evolution of the Concept of Peace from the European Concert at the United Nations," presented by professor Baidynath Kar of the University of West Bengal, "Detente and the Problems of Conflict," a report by academician Ghiorgii Arbatov of the Institute for the United States and Canada - USSR, "Norms and Conflicts in Detente," a report presented by Karl Mottola of the Finnish Institute of International Affairs.

The arms race and arms control were subjects that concentrated a sustained interest. In addition to the already mentioned analyses dedicated to this cardinal problem of contemporary international affairs, we also note: "The Arms Race - A Panacea?" by Peter Klein of the GDR Institute for International Policy and Affairs in Berlin, "The Dialectics of Interdependence between The Final Goals and the Intermediate Measures in the Field of Disarmament," by Vitali V. Schurkin of the USSR.

A significant portion was taken up by comparative, quantitative and content analyses using mathematical indicators computer-assisted data processing. For example, there were: "Detente and Security in Europe: The Vienna Force Reduction Negotiations," by professor P. Terrence Hopmann of the University of Minnesota in the Twin Cities, "Measuring Detente in Europe," by professor Dieter Ruloff of the University of Zurich, "Quantitative Data for the Study of East-West Relations," by professor David A. Jodice of Harvard University and Charles L. Taylor of Virginia Polytechnical Institute and State University, or "The Geometry of the Arms Race," by Steven Brams of New York University, Morton D. Davis of the City College of New York and Philip D. Straffin, Jr, of Beloit College. Exciting in their conclusions and appreciated for their theoretical basis and the great amount of processed data, the mathematical analysis also created criticisms, especially regarding the criteria for selecting indicators, the reduced capacity to generalize and the fact that the theoretical analyses were "out of touch" from politico-diplomatic practice.

Lively discussion also occurred on the theme of the study group dedicated to "The Security and Rights of Man," a section headed by Kenneth W. Thompson of the University of Virginia and commented by

E. Ray Plating of the United States Department of State, Adam Watson of the US Foreign Office and S. L. Zivs of the Institute of State and Law in Moscow. In his report, Harold Berman of Harvard University called for taking into consideration a system for protecting the rights of man in each country, avoiding mutual accusations and carefully following the achievement of progress in this regard on the basis of improving relations between states. Professor Jacques Freymond of the University Institute of Higher International Studies in Geneva stressed the need to define the objective and the political framework when there is talk of the fundamental rights of man. Some of his opinions regarding the factors called upon to ensure respect for the rights of man, individuals or non-governmental international organizations, as well as the opinion that the Helsinki Final Act constituted a "destabilizing" factor for detente in Europe elicited lively criticism from the commentators, who stressed the importance of the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe and the Final Act adopted by the participants for the improvement of the political climate and the consolidation of detente on the continent. In his pertinent comment, for example, S. L. Zivs stressed the importance not only of the juridic proclamation of the rights of man, but also the creation of the material conditions that lead to the permanent improvement of living and working conditions, the opportunities to express opinions and active participation in political affairs.

The Congress also offered the opportunity for certain absorbing discussions outside the working sessions, the establishment of personal contacts between scientists and the mutual knowledge of research activities in the field of political science in different countries.

A representative exposition of political books and scientific publications from the participating countries afforded a rare occasion to encounter editorial and publishing activities in the field of political science, as well as the fields of interest in the different political schools and their achievements. Romanian political literature was amply represented by the volumes of works by president Nicolae Ceausescu, "Romania on the Path of Building a Multilaterally Developed Socialist Society" and the series "From the Social-Political Thought of President Nicolae Ceausescu," works of an encyclopaedic and monographic nature, and works dedicated to the analysis of political, social and philosophical phenomena in the contemporary world, to the principal aspects of our party's and state's domestic and international policies, and to Romania's contribution to the development of political science and international relations. The display of the Socialist Republic of Romania also contained periodicals in the field of social-politics.

It is appropriate to note in closing the special efforts made by the hosts, the Soviet Association of Political Science, the Institute of State and Law of the Academy of Science of the Soviet Union and other research institutes, for providing the best possible working conditions and for presenting the political, social realities and cultural treasures of the host country.

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# ACTIVITY OF UN DEMOGRAPHIC CENTER IN BUCHAREST

Bucharest VIITORUL SOCIAL in Romanian No 4, Oct-Dec 79 pp 771-775

/Interview with Mr Ferdinand J. C. M. Rath, Director of the Center by Ioana Boja-Trinca/

/Text/ Prof Ferdinand J. C. M. Rath, the Dutch sociologist and demographer, received his doctorate in sociology at University of Nijmegen in 1955. He was director of CEDOR in 1974, a member of the UISSP and director of the Regional Institute of Social Service in the Netherlands (1955-1958), deputy director and professor of sociology at the School of Sociology of the Catholic University of Chile in Santiago (1959-1961), UN expert at CELADE-Chile (1962-1966), director of the San Jose (Costa Rica) Branch of CELADE (1966-1971), and demographer at the World Bank (1971-1974). He has published many studies on organization of demographic education, demographic sociology and economic demography.

/Question/ Mr Director, 5 years have passed since the Demographic Center was inaugurated under the joint auspices of the United Nations and the Romanian government. On this occasion, please tell our readers the purpose of founding CEDOR during the World Conference on Population held in Bucharest in 1974 and why it was founded here.

/Answer/ CEDOR was founded on the occasion of the World Conference on Population in the general spirit of the proceedings of that conference: Population is an aspect of the highly complex and varied process called development. It is not as predominant as other aspects, but neither can it be ignored. But the developmental process as a whole provides several standpoints from which to examine this problem. The unprecedented demographic growth rate the world has seen since World War II logically resulted in a generally increased emphasis on study of the demographic variables and their impact upon socioeconomic development. Training of demographers and demographic studies have also been expanded qualitatively and considerably improved.

As it often happens in the case of very pressing problems, when exaggerations and distortions become almost inevitable, some have begun to attach particular importance to just one factor of population growth, namely fertility (and high fertility especially) as a main cause of underdevelopment and poverty.

We should point out here that this opinion, although it may have been expressed more strongly than other more balanced and consequently more scientific opinions, was never shared by the majority of researchers on the subject of population and was not typical of any country or group of countries.

We all know how the Bucharest Conference helped to refute this view and to explicitly confirm the fact that the demographic factor in itself can never be the sole cause of poverty and that ways of raising the living standard of all the poor are not to be found by considering one isolated phenomenon alone.

Whether or not we agree with Malthus (And how many are there who have read the entire text of his first essay?), it is a fact that the polemics about his theory greatly stimulated demographic research in the broadest sense. Many of the discussions at the World Congress on Population in 1974 failed to lead to unanimous conclusions, but the confrontations of ideas renewed and intensified interest in the problems of population and development.

CEDOR was founded to train specialists in the study of the interrelations between the demographic variables and development, with special emphasis upon the candidates from the French-speaking developing countries, who were known to have fewer opportunities of this kind than those from the English or Spanish-speaking developing countries.

When the Romanian government learned that the United Nations was considering the plans for such a center, it offered to make an attractive and substantial contribution both physically and financially and in personnel, so that this center would be founded in Bucharest. The United Nations gratefully accepted Romania's offer and CEDOR was founded accordingly.

Question As we know, CEDOR is the only center in the UN system with the specialty of population and socioeconomic development. Could you, Mr Director, tell us about the other UN centers too, their functions and their locations in various geographic areas of the world?

Answer Yes, CEDOR is the only demographic center among those subsidized by the United Nations that specializes in personnel in the field of interrelations between population and development. The mission of the other centers is primarily to train demographers. CEDOR stated when it was founded that it will not offer specialization in demography so as not to compete with the very useful activity of the other demographic centers. But collection and analysis of demographic data, indispensable to any sound socioeconomic planning, leave much to be desired in many developing regions of the world. Improvement of this situation was the main reason for founding the other demographic centers subsidized by the United Nations. They are the following: the International Institute of Population Studies (IIPS) founded in Chennai, India in 1957, the Latin-American Demography Center (CELADE) in Santiago de Chile founded in 1958 and its branch for Central America and the Caribbean region founded in Costa Rica in 1966, the Cairo Demographic Center founded in 1963, the Accra Regional Institute of Population Studies in Ghana, founded at the beginning of 1972, and the Yaounde Institute of Demographic Education and Research (IFORD) in Cameroun, founded in the fall of 1972.

Question Who may take these courses, what are the criteria for selecting them, and who are the students of CEDOR?

Answer CEDOR's academic courses are post-university ones, so that to be admitted the applicants must have a licentiate's degree or the equivalent. The applicant's previous and present activity are other criteria, as well as the effort to secure an equitable geographic distribution of the applicants accepted. For instance with equal preparation, an applicant from a country that has not yet had a trainee in CEDOR's courses will stand a better chance of being selected than one from a country that has already sent several trainees. Of course there is also the question of the size of the respective country and its capacity to absorb specialists.

Question Since you are not trying to train professional demographers, what do you try to accomplish by your instruction and your research program during the 9 month course?

Answer Since the development studies require an interdisciplinary approach, it is necessary not only for the demographers to learn the language of the economists, sociologists, political scientists et al. but also for the latter, in studying underdevelopment problems, to learn a minimum of demographic language. When CEDOR states in its brochures that it is not training "demographers," it also explains that its programs are intended for those who are responsible in one way or another for implementation of the sectorial, regional or national plans and who share in the decisions upon which the design and accomplishment of the latter depend. I have often expressed my view that the economists, sociologists, architects and physicians who come to CEDOR to specialize should also leave CEDOR as economists, sociologists etc. but ones with a more profound understanding of the effect of the demographic variables upon the realities of their specialties. We have no intention of making conversions and in no event would we want our trainees to become pseudodemographers (Unfortunately there are too many of them as it is). But we want them to better understand the demographic facts so that they can cooperate better with the specialized demographers and jointly contribute to their countries' socioeconomic development.

Question Could you give us some opinions about the course and especially about the favorable results, and about those who have completed these courses and returned to their countries?

Answer In the beginning, CEDOR was assigned a task for which there were no precedents. We had to plan a population and development course all by ourselves. I am firmly convinced that after a period of experimentation, we have attained a very acceptable crystallization of our teaching methods. This applies both to the overall approach to population and development and to the more specialized ones like rural population and development, urbanization and migration, education in the field of population and human resources, and finally population and public health strategies.

It is a great satisfaction to us to hear news of our former trainees who, without exception, express their great appreciation of the training they received at CEDOR. Several of them have been assigned more important tasks, often more closely related to population problems.

Question Please tell us something about the specialists who have instructed CEDOR's trainees during the 5 years.

Answer The regular specialized staff is composed of UN experts, cooperating and associate experts, and Romanian experts. They have various specialties (economists, demographers, sociologists and physicians) in keeping with the center's needs and operational program. But we often appeal to well-known specialists abroad and in research institutes, universities and specialized UN bodies and to Romanian specialists from education and research.

Question CEDOR's activity also appears in a number of publications. Please refer briefly to their purpose and content.

Answer CEDOR's research activity appears largely in a number of publications grouped in the following series: Series A (Education), Series B (Studies), Series C (Translations) and the recent Series D (Research-Trainees). The materials intended for the educational process at the center are published in Series A, the studies made by the center's experts are published in Series B, and Series C is for translations from the literature in English.

We started Series D in order to exploit the best term papers.

The studies prepared and published largely in Series B take up a wide variety of subjects, but we could classify them in the following broad fields: connection between the demographic phenomena and the economic factors, the active population and employment of the labor force in the developing countries, public health problems in the context of development, distribution of population and use of natural resources, and demographic programs and policies in the developing countries. In addition to the studies published in Series B, I mention a large number of works prepared and presented at the symposiums and seminars organized by CEDOR in Bucharest and in French-speaking African countries, at other international meetings in which our center participated, and at scientific meetings organized in Romania.

Since the demoeconomic literature in English is considerably richer than that in French, we started a series of translations into French on behalf of better knowledge of the technical literature in English in the French-speaking countries.

The "Selective Bibliography on Population and Development" enjoys a good reputation abroad. It is a semiannual publication comprising a regular and selective listing of the studies and works published on the international level on the subject of connections between population and socioeconomic development. Our bibliography now has 350 subscribers throughout the world.

**[Question]** As a sociologist and demographer what is your view of a country's demographic policy and how do you think the political and decision-making elements can affect the solution of the problems of population and elimination of underdevelopment?

**[Answer]** It would not be very significant to give a very general reply to a question phrased in extremely broad terms. Therefore I shall try to be more precise without claiming to give a satisfactory answer. In the first place, population policies as they are presented by governments are divided into two broad categories, namely pronatalist and antinatalist. If we are more critical we can add that these two contrary policies have in common the fact that once adopted they are often applied so inconsistently that the results fall far short of the proposed objectives. Joking aside, we must realize that the very design and preparation of a rational population policy are a very difficult task. But this policy should be constantly, visibly and consistently supported in everyday activities, whereas actually the national demography commissions and the committees in charge of implementing national population policies are left to act almost alone. I think they should be in close touch with the national planning institutions and perform interministerial functions. Unless such a level is provided in public administration, the population commissions will be unable to exert sufficient influence in political questions and decisions or to solve problems of population and underdevelopment. Unfortunately too few governments have as yet accorded their national commissions responsibilities in keeping with their formidable task.

**[Question]** The contemporary world's demographic situation is highly diversified. In general, the developing countries are faced not only with the "demographic explosion" but also with the much more serious phenomenon of underdevelopment and the tragedy of the great gaps separating them from the developed countries and the inequalities of the modern world. You know Romania's position on the present world's great problems, the principles it is promoting in foreign relations regardless of social order, and the particular personal interest Romania's president, Nicolae Ceausescu, is taking in eliminating underdevelopment, which would also lead to solution of the developing countries' demographic problems. Do you think, Mr Director, that CEDOR's activity is helping to solve the problems facing mankind and especially the developing countries?

**[Answer]** On another occasion I expressed the truism that every solution to a problem must begin with its determination. But it seems this truism is not very well understood in the case of population problems. Many quite wrong opinions are expressed about demographic trends and characteristics, the population structure and its effects upon socioeconomic development. Goals are set that are not realistic because they are not well planned by the responsible elements and, what is worse, the discussions of population problems are often more emotional than scientific even when they are held on relatively high political levels. As I said, CEDOR wants to work with the present and future decision-makers in developing countries, providing them with facts and helping them analyze the controlling factors and consequences of the demographic trends and their effects upon other variables of development. Of course

answers have not yet been found to many questions, others all have several solutions, and the answers to others depend upon the priorities determined by the decision-maker's ideology, policy or world outlook. Therefore complete academic freedom is important to CEDOR's work, which means that diverging opinions that should be heard can be expressed at any point.

We cannot hope to have answers to all the far-reaching problems of eradicating poverty and inequitable distribution of wealth and profits. We can only hope that by discussing them with the future decision-makers and opinion leaders we will contribute to a more realistic determination of the problems of underdevelopment that are to be solved in the context of the respective country's ideological and political situation and by that country's leaders and specialists.

[Question] We know you are a sociologist by training, and since our journal deals with sociology and political sciences it has included demographic studies in every issue since it began in 1972, in view of the very close tie between sociology and demography. We should like, Professor, to give our readers your view of the relationship between sociology and demography.

[Answer] The mere attempt to answer this question within the limits of an interview seems very difficult to me. It should be the subject of an article. Actually I think such an article, reviewing the old distinctions between sociology and demography, would be very suitable. I have the impression that this question may have been neglected for the moment because of more urgent considerations of the specialists in both fields. Twenty years ago it was generally accepted in certain circles that demography is a subdivision of sociology, while other circles regarded it primarily as a field of population statistics involving efforts to improve the techniques of measuring demographic phenomena and trends. Then social demography was considerably developed and now more emphasis is placed on the determining factors of the effects of demographic trends, in which the sociological aspects play an important part. Now that demography is becoming more "committed," mere statistical data are no longer sufficient to explain the size, composition and distribution of particular populations at a given point and their changes in time. Sociology, as a study of the common types of human behavior, greatly contributes to the explanation of demographic phenomena. Changes in social structure, values or the preponderance of institutions can cause important changes in demographic behavior. On the other hand growth of population, as a growth of population density for example, can affect the social density, changes in reproductive behavior affect the change in family structure, geographic and social mobility involve demographic and sociological aspects, etc.

I do not think we can still maintain that demography is a subdivision of sociology. They are closely related, but we must recognize that the system of theoretical disciplines is more developed in sociology than in demography. On the other hand a methodology mainly based on mathematics has been rapidly developed in demography.

Some of the failures to implement population policies could be due to inadequate development of social demography. It seems sociologists and demographers

have not yet attained the status and importance society attaches to economists because in our times society considers it more important to solve the economic problems than the sociological ones. This could explain why there are more studies of the interrelations between the economy and the population than between sociology and demographic behavior. But this tendency will be corrected when society recognizes that without an adequate sociological analysis of the population problems the simple economic solutions are doomed to failure.

[Question] To the best of our knowledge the agreement between the United Nations and the Romanian government for the new period of the center's activity was signed recently. Please tell us what the intentions and plans of the institution you direct are in this new period of activity.

[Answer] The new agreement between the United Nations and Romania extends the center's activities until the end of 1983. Before this second period of activity is up the two parties will negotiate in order to discuss the suitability and terms of continuing CEDOR. Personally I have no doubt that a center like CEDOR will be necessary for a long time to come and that its continuation will depend upon the quality of the results obtained.

CEDOR is entering its second phase of activity with the advantage of having a well-established educational program and clearer prospects of performing a certain type of research. This does not exclude introduction of improvements in content in both fields: We must keep trying to improve teaching activity first by improving our knowledge of the interaction among the demographic phenomena and among the various aspects of socioeconomic development, and second by attracting competent teachers to the center.

In the field of research, CEDOR can play an important part by correlating the existing knowledge of the particular aspects of the demoeconomic and demociological interrelations of the global phenomena or of the phenomena characteristic of certain sectors of development, in addition to its own research in the sectors it has selected as of particular interest for its activity, which are mentioned above.

And finally, CEDOR is to continue and further develop its program of publications and documentation, concerning which we have received very favorable comments from the French-speaking developing countries in the last few years.

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## ROMANIA

### OFFICIALS OF SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY AND UNITY FRONT LISTED

#### SDUF National Council

Bucharest SCINTEIA TINERETULUI in Romanian 19 Jan 80 pp 3, 4

/Text/ From the Romanian Communist Party Central Committee: Nicolae Ceaușescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania and chairman of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front; Stefan Andrei, minister of foreign affairs; Iosif Banc, RCP CC secretary; Virgil Cazacu, RCP CC secretary; Elena Ceaușescu, chairman of the National Council for Science and Technology and director general of the Central Chemistry Institute; Trandafir Cocarla, deputy head of a RCP CC section; Ion Coman, minister of national defense; Nicolae Constantin, deputy minister; Constantin Dascalescu, RCP CC secretary; Petre Danica, first secretary of the Timis County Party Committee; Miu Dobrescu, first secretary of the Dolj County Party Committee; Tamara Dobrin, vice chairman of the National Council of Women; Aurel Duma, minister state secretary in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Petru Enache, first secretary of the Iasi County Party Committee; Ludovic Fazekas, RCP CC secretary; Magdalena Filipas, first deputy minister of light industry; Alexandrina Gainuse, first secretary of the Bacau County Party Committee; Gheorghe Maria, first secretary of the Bucharest Sector 4 Party Committee; Suzana Gadea, chairman of the Council of Socialist Culture and Education; Nicolae Glosan, chairman of the Grand National Assembly; Alexandru Ionescu, director general of Romanian Radio-Television; Stefan Mocuta, first secretary of the Cluj County Party Committee; Andrei Neagu, party member since illegality; Paul Niculescu, vice premier; Gheorghe Oprea, first vice premier; Gheorghe Pana, first secretary of the Bucharest Municipal Party Committee; Dumitru Popescu, RCP CC secretary; Ion Popescu Puturi, director of the Institute of Historical and Social-Political Studies; Gheorghe Radulescu, vice chairman of the Council of State; Ilie Radulescu, RCP CC secretary; Stan Soare, deputy head of a RCP CC section; Aneta Spornic, minister of education and instruction; Ion Stoian, first secretary of the Constanta County Party Committee; Iosif Szasz, first secretary of Harghita County Party Committee; Ilie Verdet, premier; Stefan Voitec, vice chairman of the Council of State; Iosif Uglar, member of the RCP CC; Ioan Ursu, first vice chairman of the National Council for Science and Technology; Richard Winter, minister state secretary in the Ministry of Technical-Supply and Control of the Management of Fixed Assets.

From the General Union of Trade Unions /UGSR/: Emil Bobu, chairman of the UGSR Central Council; Cornelia Filipas, secretary of the UGSR Central Council; Korodi Stefan, secretary of the UGSR Central Council; Floarea Bucur, chairman of the Dimbovita County Council of Trade Unions; Gheorghe Alboiu, chairman of the Committee of the Union of Trade Unions for the Forestry Economy and Construction Materials; Mihail Munteanu, chairman of the Committee of the Union of Trade Unions in Chemistry and Crude Oil Processing; Constantin Nita, chairman of the Committee of the Union of Trade Unions in Metallurgy and Machine Construction; Constantin Iancu, chairman of the Committee of the Union of Trade Unions in Transport and Telecommunications; Margareta Cucu, vice chairman of the Committee of the Union of Trade Unions in Light Industry; Gheorghina Ionescu, chairman of the trade union committee at the Bucharest readymade clothing and knitwear enterprise; Dobrita Tigaran, secretary of the Committee of the Union of Trade Unions in education, science and culture; Maria Meiloiu, chairman of the Sibiu County Council of Trade Unions, Ioana Soare, deputy head of a commission in the UGSR Central Council; Tudora Serbu, chairman of the trade union committee at the Oltenita Spinning Mill.

From the Union of Communist Youth /UTC/: Pantelimon Gavanescu, UTC Central Committee first secretary; Nicu Ceausescu, UTC Central Committee secretary; Nicolae Croitoru, UTC Central Committee secretary; Mihai Hirtau, UTC Central Committee secretary; Virgil Hampu, Bucharest Municipal UTC Committee first secretary; Ilie Lavu, Hunedoara County UTC Committee first secretary; Iosif Varga, IFJUMUNKAS editor-in-chief; Stela Chioveanu, Buzau County UTC Committee first secretary; Maria Avram, UTC Central Committee section deputy chief; Mihaela Mocanu, deputy chief of a UTC Central Committee section; Veronica Cornea, director of the UTC Central School; Ana Ferencz, Harghita County UTC Committee first secretary.

From the Union of Communist Students Associations /UASCR/: Ion Sasu, president of the UASCR Council; Marin Dinu, UASCR Council secretary; Manuela Gabriela Dancau, president of the UASC Council at the Timisoara Institute of Medicine and Pharmacy; Ion Stoica, president of the UASC Council at the Bucharest university center; Tatiana Tanasa, member of the Bureau of the UASC Council at the Iasi University Center.

From the National Council of Pioneer Organization /CNOP/: Constantin Bostina, president of the CNOP; Vasile Vacaru, vice president of the CNOP and president of the Commission for Guidance of the Activity of the Organization of Falcons of the Country; Iuliu Furo, vice president of the CNOP; Constanta Niculescu, president of the Bucharest Municipal Council of the Organization of Pioneers; Mariana Ditoiu, vice president of the Bucharest Municipal Council of the Organization of Pioneers; Ruxandra Baci, president of the Iasi County Council of the Organization of Pioneers; Veronica Milan, pupil; Sorin Chitu, pupil.

From the National Council of Women: /CNF/: Ana Muresan, president of CNF; Maria Bobu, CNF vice president; Ioana Bratu, CNF vice president; Maria Groza, CNF vice president and deputy minister of foreign affairs; Maria

Ciocan, CNF secretary; Maria Flucsa, member of the CNF Executive Bureau and deputy minister of domestic trade; Stefania Ionescu, member of the CNF Executive Bureau and president of CAP; Emilia Sonea, member of the CNF Executive Bureau and deputy head of a section at the RCP CC; Maria Costache, editor-in-chief of FEMEIA; Silvia Balanescu, president of the Neamt County Committee of Women; Eugenia Mandita, president of the Bucharest Municipal Committee of Women; Elena Jurca, president of the Sibiu County Committee of Women; Alexandrina Diaconescu, president of the Prahova County Committee of Women; Elisaveta Kovacs (Barabas), president of the Harghita County Committee of Women; Viorica Orneac, president of the women's commission at the Bucharest Readymade Clothing and Knitwear Enterprise.

From the Council of Workers of Hungarian Nationality of the Socialist Republic of Romania: Mihai Gere, president of the Council of Workers of Hungarian Nationality of the Socialist Republic of Romania; Ilona Peter, foreman and vice president of the Council of Workers of Hungarian Nationality of the Socialist Republic of Romania; Iuliu Fejes, secretary of the Council of Workers of Hungarian Nationality of the Socialist Republic of Romania; Giza Domokos, writer; Edith Gyarfazs, worker; Zsolt Galfalvi, professor; Ion Gergely, professor.

From the Council of Workers of German Nationality of the Socialist Republic of Romania: Eduard Eisenburger, president of the Council of Workers of German Nationality of the Socialist Republic of Romania; Ernest Breitenstein, NEUER WEG editor-in-chief; Adelbert Millitz, secretary of the Council of Workers of German Nationality of the Socialist Republic of Romania; Hedwiga Margareta Hauser, editor-in-chief of Kriterion Publishers.

From the National Union of Agricultural Production Cooperatives/UNCAP: Vasile Marin, UNCAP president; Floarea Barbu, CAP president; Hedi Simonis, CAP president; Elisabeta Benta, CAP president; Gheorghe Ghita, CAP president; Constantin Badita, CAP president; Dinu Daniluc, CAP president; Gheorghe Hutisoru, peasant cooperative member; Silvia Macelaru, head of a farm; Ioana Mihutoni, peasant cooperative member; Szabo Ventel, CAP president; Marcel Mogosiu, president of Dolj County Union of Agricultural Production Cooperatives.

From the Central Union of Artisan Cooperatives/UCECOM: Teodor Has, UCECOM president; Larisa Munteanu, UCECOM vice president; Olga Horia, Director of UCECOM Popular Art Center; Ecaterina Masalschi, Arges County UCM vice president; Dumitru Pirvu, Timis County UTC president; Amelia Haghi Toth, Cluj County UCM vice president.

From the Central Union of Consumer Cooperatives/CENTROCOOP: Gheorghe Rosu, CENTROCOOP president; Szasz Domokos, CENTROCOOP vice president; Nicolae Albu, Vilcea County Consumer Cooperatives Union; Ruxandra Scarlatescu, Brasov County Consumer Cooperatives Union vice president; Viorica Mazilu, Cimpina Consumer Cooperative president; Florica Glodeanu, Salaj County Consumer Cooperative Union vice president.

From the Union of Writers: George Macovescu, Union of Writers president; Eugen Jebeleanu, poet; Laurentiu Fulga, Union of Writers vice president;

Letay Lajos, UTUNK editor-in-chief; Ion Lancranian, writer; Doina Salajan, poet.

From the Union of Plastic Artists: Ioan Irimescu, president of the Union of Plastic Artists; Eftimie Birleanu, sculptor; Hildegard Fackner, graphics artist; Vida Geza, sculptor.

From the Union of Composers: Petre Brancusi, president of the Union of Composers; Radu Palade, composer; Vasile Tomescu, Union of Composers secretary; Tiberiu Olaj, composer.

From the Newspapermen's Council: Octavian Paler, ROMANIA LIBERA editor-in-chief; and president of the Newspapermen's Council; Szilagyi Dezideriu, ELORE editor-in-chief; Constantin Mitea, SCINTEIA editor-in-chief; Alice Ouatu, FLACARA IASULUI editor-in-chief; Sofia Sincan, deputy editor-in-chief of Romanian Radio-Television; Adrian Paunescu, FLACARA editor-in-chief.

From the Union of Architects: Cezar Lazarescu, president of the Union of Architects; Mircea Dima, Union of Architects vice president; Rucsandra Verona Fotina, architect.

From the Association of Artists in Theatrical and Musical Institutions: Dina Cocea, actress, association president; Eugenia Moldovan, vocal soloist; Radu Beligan, director of the National Theater.

From the Association of Cinema Workers: Ion Popescu Gopo, association president; Elisabeta Bostan, university lecturer.

From the Ministry of National Defense: Lt Gen Ion Hortopan, first deputy minister of national defense and chief of the General Staff; Lt Gen Gheorghe Gomoiu, deputy minister of national defense and secretary of the Army Higher Political Council; Maj Gen Constantin Olteanu, chief of staff of the Patriotic Guards; Maj Gen Ilie Ceaulescu, deputy secretary of the Army Higher Political Council; Lt Gen Constantin Oprita, chief of the Ministry of National Defense directorate; Maj Gen Ion Geona, commander of civil defense; Col Gen Vasile Petrut, commander of the weapons command; Lt Gen Paul Cheler, commander of a command locum tenens; Maj Gen Mihail Mitrea, secretary of the Political Council; Capt I George Petre, secretary of the Political Council, Maj Gen Petre Ilie, secretary of the Political Council; Col Radu Olaru, editor-in-chief of APARAREA PATRIEI; Maj Gen Ioan Pantilimonescu, secretary of the Political Council; Maj Gen Dimitrie Popa, commander of a large unit; Maj Gen Mihai Chitac, commandant of a weapons command.

From the Ministry of Interior: George Homostean, minister of interior; Tudor Postelnicu, minister state secretary and chief of the Department of State Security; Nicolai Girba, deputy minister of interior and secretary of the Political Council; Constantin Vasile Nuta, deputy minister of interior; Luigi Martis, commander of the Security Troops Command.

From other component organizations of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front: Cornelia Penescu, university professor; Zoe Dumitrescu Busulenga, university professor; Alexandru Trestioreanu, director of the Bucharest Oncological Institute; Viorica Dobrescu, chief scientific researcher; Radu Voinea, rector of the Bucharest Polytechnical Institute; Gheorghe Mihoc, academician; Mihai Draganescu, corresponding member of the Academy; Iosif Tripsa, president of the National Council of Engineers and Technicians; Stefan Balan, vice president of the National Council of Engineers and Technicians; Rodica Stoica, chief researcher; Calin Mihaileanu, director of the Central Institute for Energy Research in Bucharest; Cristofor Simionescu, university professor; Marin Gh. Voiculescu, president of the Union of Medical Sciences Societies; Marcela Eugenia Pitis, university professor; Nicolae Teodorescu, university professor; academician Stefan Pascu; Lidia Panaitu, professor; Valentin Popovici, veterinarian; Constantin Flitan, president of the Association of Jurists; Romul Oprea, secretary of the Association of Jurists; Ion. P. Tutoveanu, general of the Army and commander of the Military Academy; Lt Gen (r) Gheorghe Zaharia, deputy director of the Institute of Historical and Social-Political Studies in the RCP CC; Col Gen (r) Mihai Burca, vice president of the Committee of Former Antifascist Fighters; Anton Breitenhofer, writer; Tudor Ionescu, president of the National Council for the Defense of Peace; Constantin Burada, president of the National Council of Red Cross Society; Lidia Oradean, secretary of the National Council of Red Cross Society; Ander Zoltar, university professor; Georgeta Ifrim, secretary of the Bucharest Municipal Committee of the Red Cross; Melania Cretu, president of the Timis County Red Cross Committee; Emil Draganescu, minister of tourism and sports; Ion Rinderiu, first vice president of the Dolj County Council for Physical Education and Sports; Lia Manoliu, vice president of the National Council for Physical Education and Sports; Dumitru Ivan, first vice president of the Constanta County Council for Physical Education and Sports; Mihai Grigoras, first vice president of the Bacau County Council for Physical Education and Sports; Aurelian Neacsu, vice president of the General Association of Sport Hunters and Fishermen; Veceslav Harnaj, president of the Beekeepers' Association; Neagu Cosma, first vice president of the Romanian Automobile Club; Justin Moisescu, patriarch of the Romanian Orthodox Church; Teoctist Arapasu, metropolitan of Moldavia and Suceava; Nicolae Mladin, metropolitan of Transylvania; Nestor Vornicescu, metropolitan of Oltenia; Nicolae Corneanu, metropolitan of Banat; Antonie Plamadeala, bishop-vicar; Vladimir Marcovici, Serbian Orthodox vicar of Timisoara; Jakab Antal, auxiliary bishop of the Alba Iulia Roman Catholic Episcopate; Francisc Augustin, head of the Bucharest Roman Catholic Archepiscopate; Kernweis Konrad, Roman Catholic archpriest in Timisoara; Nagy Gyula, bishop of the Cluj Reformed Diocese; Papp Laszlo, bishop of the Oradea Reformed Diocese; Albert Klein, bishop of the Augustin Evangelical Church in Sibiu; Szedressy Paul, bishop of the Cluj-Napoca Sinodo-Presbyterian Church; Kovacs Lajos, bishop of the Cluj-Napoca Unitarian Church; Moses Rosen, head rabbi of the Jewish Cult; Tirayr Mardichian, bishop of the Armenian-Gregorian Church; Mehmet Iacub, mufti of the Moslem cult; Chiril Savici Chiprian, bishop-vicar of the Ancient Rite Christian Cult; Cornel Mara, president of the Committee of the Adventist Union; Pavel Bochian, president of the Pentecostal Church Council; Victor Dumitrescu, first delegate of the Committee of the Evangelical Christian Union.

From the Organization of Socialist Democracy and Unity: Prof Dr. Constantin Arseni, president of the Bureau of the Central Committee of the Organization of Socialist Democracy and Unity; Caius Iacob, university professor; Doina Benea, judge; Maria Stanciu, peasant cooperative member; Virginia Cretu, peasant cooperative member; Norica Ilie, peasant cooperative member; Constantin Balta, foreman; Maria Elena Rosca, scientific researcher; Cornel Radu, scientific researcher; Maria Dringa, engineer-draftsman; Ioan Teodorescu, economist; Marina Pandrea, university lecturer; Stefan Palfi, technician; Jeno Kolcza, engineer-draftsman; Dumitru Marica, university lecturer; Mariana Belis, university lecturer; Constantin Munteanu, locksmith; Marton Szilveszter, foreman; Roman Iuliu Lupas, miner; Nicu Mirea, peasant cooperative member; Maria Nitu, engineer; Paul Everac, writer; Rozalia Bauer, spooler; Vasile Poleanschi, peasant with his own plot; Florea Dide, peasant cooperative member .

From the county organizations of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front: Alba: Elisabeta Jicarean, county party committee secretary and president of the county council of the SDUF; Alexandru Oprean, main technician; Victoria Birlutiu, foreman; Stefan Radut, peasant with individual plot; Doina Muntean, engineer.

Arad: Maria Laiu, county party committee secretary, and president of the county council of the SDUF Ileana Bucurescu, professor; Ilie Ciorsa, CAP president; Augustin Pop, deputy secretary of the Pecica Commune Party Committee; Traian Toma, chairman of the Pincota City People's Council; Iren Vozel, spinner.

Arges: Constantin Zanfir, county party committee secretary and president of the county council of the SDUF; Elena Marinescu, peasant cooperative member; Mihai Gorunescu, worker; Vasile Mohanu, foreman; Gheorghe Mateescu, forestry technician; Constanta Cristea, peasant cooperative member; Elisabeta Nica, foreman.

Bacau: Vasile Popa, county party committee secretary and president of the county council of the SDUF; Gheorghe Popescu, forestry engineer at the Commercial Enterprise of Food Items; Ana Birsan, CAP president; Ioana Ion, deputy director; Maria Stanciu, peasant cooperative member; Alexandru Ciobanu, foreman, Georgeta Dascalu, engineer.

Bihor: Maria Ghiuca, county party committee secretary and president of the county council of the SDUF; Paulina Elena Mircea, physician; Gyulai Ludovic, CAP president, Ileana Cobirzan, retiree; Nicolae Flonta, president of the state and cooperative united agroindustrial council in Diosig; Traian Pilelea, mining foreman; Floare Porumb, peasant cooperative member.

Bistrita-Nasaud: Susana Salvan, county party committee secretary and president of the county council of the SDUF; Irina Doroftei, engineer; Augustin Ginja, electrician; Lazar Istrate, peasant cooperative member.

Botosani: Ion Bogdan Boluta, county party committee secretary and president of the county council of the SDUF; Cicerone Simionescu, physician; Olga Iacob, peasant cooperative member; Dochita Anichi, worker; Mihaela Andreescu, engineer; Constantin Sorohan, peasant cooperative member.

Brasov: Mihai Dulea, county party committee secretary and president of the county council of the SDUF; Aurelia Rauca, peasant cooperative member; Maria Grindan, peasant cooperative member; Gheorghe Rizea, vice president of the county council of workers' control of economic and social activity; Eftimie Modilca, plastic artist; Gheorghe Badea, director of the Central of Bearings and Assembly Organs in Brasov; Valentina Toanchina, chemist operator; Konnerth Friedirich, deputy secretary of the Ciucu Commune Party Committee.

Braila: Marcela Ciuperca, county party committee secretary and president of the county council of the SDUF; Maria Iepure, professor; Ion Bejan, foreman; Marcela Hrusca, worker; Lina Gheorghe, peasant cooperative member.

Buzau: Constantin Dinu, county party committee secretary and president of the county council of the SDUF; Daniel Miroiu, engineer; Aneta Popescu, foreman; Stefan Marin, CAP president; Georgeta Nicolescu, professor; Victoria Angelescu, cooperative member.

Caras-Severin: Alexandru Barbacioru, county party committee secretary and president of the county council of the SDUF; Gheorghe Florescu, engineer; Kaparnay Ladislau, blast-furnace operator foreman; Floarea Titoni, peasant cooperative member; Maria Tepenu, locksmith; Mihai Marian Nicolae Peia, professor.

Cluj: Aurelia Danila, county party committee secretary and president of the county council of the SDUF; Cornelia Incze, worker; Cornel Lehne, foreman; Aurelian Marin, actor; Emil Moldovan, vice president of the Dej Municipal Council of Workers' Control of Economic and Social Activity; Edita Horvath, worker; Dochita Bucur, peasant cooperative member; Dionisie Csegezi, CAP president.

Constanta: Teodora Avram, county party committee secretary and president of the county council of the SDUF; Voica Andrei, engineer; Eugenia Nicola, peasant cooperative member; Nicolae Stancu, foreman; Elena Calatoiu, researcher; Iancu Culea, peasant cooperative member; Mioara Nicolae, mechanic; Ion Serban, foreman.

Covasna: Ghizela Vlad, county party committee secretary and president of the county council of the SDUF; Elena Vitoman, peasant cooperative member; Mircea Saica, tool and die maker; Paraschiva Kelemen, worker in trade.

Dimbovita: Tiberiu Varga, county party committee secretary and president of the county council of the SDUF; Marin Buzescu, engineer; Elena Danciulescu, engineer; Ioan Brasoveanu, peasant cooperative member; Argentina Balta, draftsman technician.

Dolj: Constanta Clontu, county party committee secretary and president of the county council of the SDUF; Georgeta Nicolae, architect; Stefan Hirzoi, CAP president; Jovan Rosescu, SMA director; Marin Gaicu, rectifier; Veronica Gica, worker; Ion Dimian, state agricultural enterprise director; Stana Craciunoiu, Craiova Municipal Party Committee secretary; Eufrosina Leonte, university lecturer.

Galati: Vasile Carp, county party committee secretary and president of the county council of the SDUF; Maria Boiciu, physician; Gheorghe Stefan, CAP president; Constantin Lefter, foreman; Jenica Cristea, peasant cooperative member; Ana Floroiu, technician; Misu Dobrota, vice president of the county council for workers' control of economic and social activity.

Gorj: Gheorghe Vatuui, county party committee secretary and president of the county council of the SDUF; Dorina Traistaru, technician; Gheorghe Vulpe, mining foreman; Constantin Cojocar, technician; Maria Ciucudeanu, peasant cooperative member.

Harghita: Ecaterina Brisc, county party committee secretary and president of the county council of the SDUF; Gheorghe Gal, mechanic foreman; Valeria Pop, clothing worker; Lorincz Zoltan, technician.

Hunedoara: Petre Lungu, county party committee secretary and president of the county council of the SDUF; Didona Carmen and Felicia Horiz, draftsman engineer; Ileana Radoi, worker; Elena Maris, peasant cooperative member; Gheorghe Andrea, foreman; Constantin Lupulescu, miner; Elena Voica, peasant cooperative member; Nicolae Marculescu, blast-furnace operator foreman.

Ialomita: Elena Chirita, county party committee secretary; Elena Militaru, professor; Ion Andrei, CAP president; Aurelia Staicu, Fetesti City Party Committee secretary; Victor Budur, mechanic foreman; Tanase Banateanu, peasant cooperative member.

Iasi: Florica Toma, county party committee secretary and president of the county council of the SDUF; Rodica Popa, worker; Ion Mahu, worker; Radu Costache Butuc, mechanic-locksmith; Mihai G. Cosmei, university lecturer; Eugenia I. Tabacaru, head of a farm; Ion Gradinaru, mechanic instructor; Domnica D. Murgoci, professor; Maria M. Netedu, foreman's aid; Alexandru I. Sandu, foreman.

Ilfov: Ion Savu, county party committee secretary and president of the county council of the SDUF; Valeria Negoita, zootechnical engineer; Iulian Dinu, CAP president; Mihai Cojocar, state agricultural enterprise director; Filofteia Minculescu, Giurgiu Municipal Party Committee secretary; Constantin Gheorghe, energy technician; Mihaela Miculescu, professor; Olguta Ghita, engineer; Angela Ionita, peasant cooperative member.

Maramures: Vasile Dancos, county party committee secretary and president of the county council of the SDUF; Veronica Saplacan, engineer; Teodor Stan, foreman; Gheorghe Caniuc, foreman; Veturia Costea, peasant cooperative

member; Valer Tamas, peasant cooperative member.

Mehedinti: Eugenia Dragolici, county party committee secretary and president of the county council of the SDUF; Gheorghe Panescu, engineer; Constanta Talpes, cooperative member; Ion Duduveche, CAP president; Dumitru Popa, worker.

Mures: Simion Cotoi, county party committee secretary and president of the county council of the SDUF; Aurel Covaci, mechanical engineer; Veselina Barbat, worker; Paraschiva Gyorgy, technician; Hajdu Gozo, writer; Wilhelm Ianos, electrician; Iosif Irimie, director of the Timaveni Window Enterprise; Ghizela Laslo, peasant cooperative member.

Neamt: Angelica Manole, county party committee secretary and president of the county council of the SDUF; Silvia Eleonora Nicolau, physician; Petru Ciubotaru, foreman; Maria Dobreanu, peasant cooperative member; Vasile Husaru, peasant with his own plot; Delia Timpoc, engineer.

Olt: Constantin Dumitru, county party committee secretary and president of the county council of the SDUF; Georgeta Daviduica, technician; Ioana Istrate, peasant cooperative member; Dumitra Dragonu, peasant cooperative member; Pia Balu, engineer; Gheorghe Bucataru, locomotive mechanic.

Prahova: Anicuta Panciu, county party committee secretary and president of the county council of the SDUF; Lucia Dobre, peasant cooperative member; Gabriela Petre, foreman; Filofteia Popescu, Ploiesti Municipal Party Committee secretary; Dumitru Goidea, engineer; Traian David, foreman; Elena Dumitrascu, CAP president; Gheorghe Ghimbas, foreman; Ion Mihalcea, foreman.

Satu Mare: Niculina Bacea, county party committee secretary and president of the county council of the SDUF; Ana Panea, technician; Emerich Toth, peasant cooperative member; Imre Bencze, engineer; Violeta Muresan, engineer.

Salaj: Ioan Morar, county party committee secretary and president of the county council of the SDUF; Maria Turcas, professor; Craciun Ignat, peasant with individual plot; Maria Corb Vlaic, worker.

Sibiu: Elena Bleahu, county party committee secretary and president of the county council of the SDUF; Maria Cazaciuc, engineer; Cornel Mihai, chemist operator; Virginia Farcas, worker.

Suceava: Maria Prepelita, county party committee secretary and president of the county council of the SDUF; Aurelian Sidarug, foreman; Vasile Strelciuc, peasant cooperative member; Vasile Baciu, foreman; Constantin Alexe, peasant cooperative member; Olga Maxim, worker; Maria Chiroasca, technician; Vasile Chidovet, director of the Radauti Wood Processing Enterprise.

Teleorman: Elisabeta Statescu, county party committee secretary and president of the county council of the SDUF; Petre Candila, engineer; Zamfir Minea, driller foreman; Safta Oancea, peasant cooperative member; Ancu Glavan, cooperative member; Jenica Nedelcuta, foreman.

Timis: Maria Bradea, county party committee secretary and president of the county council of the SDUF; Lazar Boleantu, engineer; Elena Marzan, cooperative member; Elena Dembinischi, engineer; Milan Iovanovici, BANATSKE NOVINE editor-in-chief, Timisoara; Andrei Antal, foreman; Gheorghe Leucuta, Timisoara Municipal Party Committee secretary; Heinz William Teremia Mare Commune Party Committee; Rozalia Pop, retiree; Jiva Ilin, CAP president.

Tulcea: Ileana Colesnicencu, county party committee secretary and president of the county council of the SDUF; Maria Lupa, professor; Dumitru Gheorghe, peasant cooperative member; Gheorghe Sibisanu, mechanic foreman.

Vaslui: Elena Ranceanu, county party committee secretary and president of the county council of the SDUF; Emil Alexa, technician; Vasile Munteanu, president of the state and cooperative united agroindustrial council; Tahir Pal, clothing worker; Petru Giurea, peasant cooperative member.

Vilcea: Ioan Deaconu, county party committee secretary and president of the county council of the SDUF; Vladut Brinzan, foreman; Gheorghita Stelea, professor; Marina Olteanu, peasant cooperative member; Gheorghita Almariei, electrician.

Vrancea: Nicolae Chipaila, county party committee secretary and president of the county council of the SDUF; Aurel Bourceanu, engineer; Mariora Camaruta, peasant cooperative member; Ioana Moraru, worker; Aurica Popa, worker.

Bucharest: Nicolae Mihalache, Bucharest Municipal Party Committee secretary and president of the Bucharest Municipal Council of the SDUF; Cristina Raicu, agronomic engineer; Tudor Aron, engineer; Constantin Jalescu, engineer; Nicolae Barbulescu, engineer; Elena Calangiu, technician; Aurel Blaga, engineer; Georgeta Popa, foreman; Maria Diacona, knitter; Aneta Diaconu, Sector 5 Party Committee secretary; Gheorghe Dumitrescu, composer; Aneta Duca, director of Victoria State Trade Enterprise; Ion Fotache, foreman; Traian Iancu, writer; Constantin Gheorghe, foreman; Aurel Iacobescu, Bucur Obor State Trade Enterprise director; Margareta Lazarescu, electronics worker; Valeriu Matache, engineer; Gheorghe Moraru, tile worker; Ecaterina Cioranescu Nenitescu, academician; Ilie Puiu, lathe operator; Virginia Pripitu, worker; Toma Popa, activist for Sector 3 Party Committee; Marilena Preda, Sector 2 Party Committee secretary; Violeta Zamfirescu, writer.

#### Central Committee of SDUF Organization

Bucharest SCINTEIA TINERETULUI in Romanian 18 Jan 80 p 4

Alba County: Alexandru Oprean, technician; Doina Voina, machine operator; Irma Burjan, peasant cooperative member.

Arad County: Ileana Bucurescu, professor; Esztera Erdos, peasant cooperative member; Silvius Bodici, electrician; Elena Ardean, spinner.

Arges County: Marina Pandrea, university lecturer; Mariora D. Toma, physician; Elena Marinescu, cooperative member; Elena Popa, technician, Nicolae

Victor Cojocaru, chemist foreman.

Bacau County: Dr Gheorghe Popescu, researcher; Natalia Preotescu, laboratory worker; Maria Atanasiu, locksmith mechanic; Valentin Salahoru, peasant cooperative member; Dumitru Huluta, petroleum worker foreman.

Bihar County: Paulina Elena Mircea, physician; Sigismund Kovacs, locksmith; Floare Porumb, peasant cooperative member; Craciun Filip, miner; Firanda Codreanu, seamstress; Angela Gavrila professor.

Bistrita-Nasaud County: Irina Doroftei, engineer; Teodor Marginean, locksmith; Ana Gliga, peasant with individual plot.

Botosani County: Cicerone Simionescu, physician; Emilia Zahariuc, engineer; Maria Doroftei, peasant cooperative member.

Brasov County: Maria Dringa, draftsman engineer; Constanta Doina Toma, draftsman; Iosif Silimon, technical director; Aurelia Rauca, peasant cooperative member; Florea Marcu, professor; Frideric Hart, locksmith.

Braila County: Maria Iepure, professor; Lina Gheorghe, peasant cooperative member; Stefan Nita, mechanic.

Buzau County: Doinel Miroiu, draftsman engineer; Lucica Constantin, chemical engineer; Norica Ilie, peasant cooperative member; Gheorghe Bancila, locksmith mechanic.

Caras-Severin: Gheorghe Florescu, electronics engineer; Rozalia Bauer, spinner; Maria Tepeneu, locksmith.

Cluj County: Dumitru Marica, university lecturer; Ioan Jeler, chemical operator; Eva Mandula, technician; Lucia Vitelaru, professor; Doina Florea, technician; Marin Jucan, locksmith; Prof Andrei Koos, sculptor; Sandor Fodor, writer.

Constanta County: Voica Andrei, engineer; Ion Vladareanu, foreman; Victoria Rosca, professor; Toma Moldoveanu, forger; Maria Stanciu, peasant cooperative member.

Covasna County: Jeno Kolcza, draftsman engineer; Ilona Szasz, textile laboratory worker; Maria Nema, peasant cooperative member.

Dimbovita County: Marin Buzescu, mechanical engineer; Filofteia Pircalabu, spooler; Victoria Ilie, agronomic technician; Stelian Ene, driller foreman.

Dolj County: Georgeta Nicolae, architect; Virginia Cretu, peasant cooperative member; Ilie Ularu, locksmith; Cornelia Luminita Lazar, university assistant; Fanica Marinoiu, milling-machine operator; Elena Cazacu, clothing worker.

Galati County: Maria Boiciuc, chemist physician; Constantin Munteanu, locksmith; Ion Dragomir, locksmith; Jenica Cristea, peasant cooperative member .

Gorj County: Dorina Traistaru, technician; Emil Ionica, locksmith mechanic; Grigore Ivanoiu, driller.

Marghita County: Gheorghe Gal, mechanic foreman; Ioana Berca, knitter; Moise Pap, peasant cooperative member; Marton Szilveszter, foreman.

Hunedoara County: Didona Horia, draftsman engineer; Romulus Zaroni, engineer; Zita Barzan, chemist operator; Roman Iuliu Lupas, miner.

Ialomita County: Elena Militaru, professor; Lenuta Lautarescu, chemist engineer; Tanase Banateanu, peasant cooperative member.

Iasi County: Maria Elena Rosca, scientific researcher; Maria Gh. Iordache, zootechnical engineer; Rodica Popa, worker; Dan D. Petrovanu, university professor; Mihai A. Catana, foreman.

Ilfov County: Valeria Negoita, researcher; Nicu Mirea, peasant cooperative member; Gheorghe Lulea, mechanic; Tincuta Ungureanu, technician; Ion Oprea, installer.

Maramures County: Veronica Saplacan, engineer; Emilia Luputan, refiner-metalurgist; Iosif Papp, milling-machine operator; Andrei Hrehorca, peasant cooperative member.

Mehedinti County: Gheorghe Panescu, mechanical engineer; Dorina Dinca, chemical laboratory assistant; Constanta Talpes, peasant cooperative member.

Mures County: Aurel Covaci, mechanical engineer; Piroska Gyorgy, technician; Otilia Maier, worker; Alexandru Moldovan, electrician; Maria Peter, university assistant; Stefan Palfi, technician.

Neamt County: Eleonora Silvia Nicolau, physician; Ionel Nica, rolling mill operator; Stefan Mindru, worker; Olga Pintilescu, knitting-machine operator;

Olt County: Maria Nitu, engineer; Titu Iacobescu, foreman; Marin Toiu, foreman; Ioana Istrate, peasant cooperative member.

Prahova County: Ioan Teodorescu, economist; Lucia Dobre, peasant cooperative member; Nastase Stoian, locksmith; Elena Natalia Atanasie, professor; Alexandru Capilna, rectifier; Nicolae Oprea, rectifier.

Satu Mare County: Ana Fanca, knitwear technician; Iolanda Nemeth, peasant cooperative member; Gheorghe Tulian, locksmith.

Salaj County: Maria Turcas, professor; Susana Denes, peasant cooperative member; Ion Barbur, enameler .

Sibiu County: Maria Cazaciu, engineer; Aron Dorel Porime, research engineer; Silvia Pandrea, textile engineer; Georg Scherg, university lecturer.

Suceava County: Aurelian Sidoriuc, foreman; Vasile Poleanschi, peasant with individual plot; Maria Ciotina, worker; Vasile Strelciu, peasant cooperative member; Stelian Patatu, miner.

Teleorman County: Petre A. Codila, engineer; Florea Dide, peasant cooperative member; Valeria Bisa, textile technician; Stan Ilie Ion, head of a team.

Timis County: Lazar Boleantu, doctor in electromechanical sciences; Maria Ramneantu, seamstress; Ecaterina Schnier, peasant cooperative member; Ilie Medvesan, locksmith; Adelina Pop, university assistant; Ana Daminescu, foreman's aid.

Tulcea County: Maria Lupa, professor; Dumitru Gheorghe, peasant cooperative member; Marta Strimbu, worker.

Vaslui County: Emil Alexa, technician; Didina Pana, peasant cooperative member; Costica Botas, rectifier.

Vilcea County: Aurel Boureanu, head of a workshop; Gica Rizea, peasant cooperative member; Maria Zamfir, clothing worker.

Bucharest Municipality: Mariana Belis, university lecturer; Stan Ciuca, lathe operator; Elena Calangiu, technician; Constantin Jelescu, engineer; Caius Iacob, university professor; Veronica Caruntu, university lecturer; Georgeta Popa, foreman; Constantin Balta, foreman; Tudor Peicea, foreman; Margareta Lazarescu, electronics worker; Safta Alecu, technician; Paul Everac, writer; Ion Pacea, sculptor; Elena Apostol, seamstress; Liliana Popescu, researcher; Mircea Ciobanu, writer; Cornel Trailescu, composer; Ioana Postelnicu, writer; Ioan Alin Gheorghiu, painter; Draga Olteanu Matei, actress; Constantin Arseni, professor, chief of the Bucharest Institute of Medicine and Pharmacy clinic and corresponding member of the Academy; Pascal Benteoiu, composer; Doina Benea, judge; Tudora Maria Popescu, scientific researcher; Eugen Topala, scientific researcher; Tatiana Atamanu, scientific researcher; Alexandru Dutu, researcher; Anca Ghiata, researcher; Ecaterina Cioranescu Nenitescu, academician; Cristina Raicu, engineer; Corneliu Radu, researcher; Marin Ilie, electrician.

From the cults: Teofil Harineanu, archbishop of Cluj; Antim Nica, archbishop of Tomis and Lower Danube; Iftimie Luca, bishop of Roman and Hus; Visarion Asteleanu, bishop of Arad; Emilian Birdas, bishop of Alba Iulia; Vasile Coman, bishop of Oradea; Octavian Popescu, administrative vicar of the Orthodox Archiepiscopate in Bucharest; Vitorio Blazutti, archpriest of the Bucharest Roman Catholic Church; Pentek Arpad, professor at the Cluj-Napoca Protestant Theological Institute; Hans Hermanstadter, curator of the Augustine Evangelical General Church in Sibiu; Erdo Janos, vicar of the Cluj-Napoca Unitarian Church; Regep Sali, iman of the Moslem cult in Bucharest; Constantin Voicu, rector of the Orthodox Theological Institute in Sibiu; Petru Gherghel, pro-vicar general of the Iasi Roman Catholic Archiepiscopate.

**Bureau of the Central Committee of SDUF Organizations:**

**President:** Prof Dr Constantin Arseni;

**Vice presidents:** Constantin Balta, Mariana Belis, Caius Iacob, Virginia Cretu, Jeno Kolsza;

**Secretary:** Doina Benea;

**Members:** Voica Andrei, Lazar Boleantu, Maria Dringa, Alexandru Dutu, Paul Everac, Dumitru Marica, Nicu Mirea, Maria Nitu, Stefan Palfi, Marina Pandrea, Maria-Elena Rosca, Georg Scherg.

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REVIEW OF BOOK ON MILITARY CONDUCT, ETHICS

Bucharest VIITORUL SOCIAL in Romanian No 4, Oct-Dec 79 pp 825-826

[Review by Dr Al. Gh. Savu of the book "Communist Ethics and Military Conduct," by Ion Coman, Military Publishing House, Bucharest, 1979]

[Text] The first edition of Lt Gen Ion Coman's work "Communist Ethics and Military Conduct" was exhausted soon after it appeared -- indisputable evidence that it aroused real interest by virtue of its subject and, naturally, that its content and approach met the demands of broad categories of readers in the highest degree. And at the time expert criticism, receptive to the true scientific values, heralded the appearance of this book as a noteworthy publishing event.

The revised and considerably enlarged new edition affords a happy occasion to point out once again the merits of this work, which now belongs to the imperishable part of the current Romanian scientific social-political output, developed under the fertile influence and stimulation of Party Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu's thinking.

Beyond a doubt, "Communist Ethics and Military Conduct" is first of all an incursion into the spiritual world of the man of our times, the builder of the fully developed socialist society on Romanian soil, a man who while building and preparing to defend what he has built by his own labor if need be develops and improves himself in the many roles as owner, builder, beneficiary and defender of all the material and cultural values.

From the practically inexhaustible mine of such a rich subject as communist ethics, the author thoroughly analyzes several essential problems, from the party's decisive role in directing the vast process of forming the new man of our society to the interpretation of some concepts of great theoretical and functional importance like labor, equity, justice, honor, sincerity, modesty, discipline, vigilance, aggressiveness, party militancy, revolutionary romanticism, love of country, international solidarity or kindness. All these are part of the written and unwritten but considered and experienced code of ethics of our party and people, an expression of an advanced view of

the world and life as well as a prerequisite for the general progress of Romanian society toward the higher peaks of civilization.

The application of the above-mentioned concepts to ethics and military conduct from an original viewpoint is of particular interest to readers. Under party leadership in the years of socialism our army became a veritable school of patriotism and civic responsibility and dignity, contributing to the development of the new man in ways suited to its nature. In summing up this major aspect of the army's educational and formative function the author points out, "Our people's army plays a very important part in the huge mechanism designed to implement the extensive political-educational effort on a national scale to enhance the masses' revolutionary awareness and to accelerate the formation of the new man. As we know its basic task is to keep increasing its fighting capacity so that it can honorably perform its sacred mission of vigilantly guarding the revolutionary gains of the people, the freedom and independence of the nation, and our national sovereignty. Meanwhile the army makes it a matter of honor to help raise the nation to new heights of civilization and progress by performing its tasks in the national economy. All progress in strengthening the fighting power of the units and large units and in accomplishing all objectives both military and socioeconomic is based on the socialist awareness of the soldiers of all ranks and their high moral qualities and military virtues instilled and developed by their commanders and by the party and UTC [Union of Communist Youth] organs." (p 20)

Adherence to the principles and standards of communist ethics is essentially a purposeful act which results from the interaction of complex factors and always entails outdoing oneself when necessary. That is why this work not only does not recommend universally valid educational formulas but, on the contrary, encourages creative analyses and meditations, flexibility of thought and action, and rejection of any pointless, routine, petrified or formal forms of activity.

Noteworthy pages in the work are devoted to the party spirit, revolutionary consistency and intolerance of shortcomings, combined with kindness, honor and honesty, traits that define the communists' conduct and favorably affect all human relations, forming a model of conduct for the community. "Personal example is the most effective way of influencing others, stimulating their energies, and engaging them in a sustained effort to overcome any obstacle to attain the intended goals. By his revolutionary nature the communist is a man of action who proceeds immediately from word to deed and who, once the objectives and courses of action have been determined, sets out resolutely to implement them. His political-ethical makeup is essentially characterized by unity of word and deed. He cannot be content merely to disseminate the requirements of communist ethics and to explain and discuss the importance of the principles and standards of communist ethics and life but is obligated to promote them in practice every day and under all circumstances." (p 242)

As contrasted with other books on the subject, which sometimes remain subject to pedantry or become more or less moralizing, "Communist Ethics and Military Conduct" is essentially a discussion-work, a discussion in which the reader

is invited to join the author emotionally and rationally, a frank, sincere, responsible and human discussion of the world and life and of the place and mission of everyone in the great family of our socialist nation, and a discussion that stimulates thought and action.

5186

CSO: 2700

## BRIEFS

'CRONICA' UNDERGOES CHANGES--The Iasi review CRONICA, the political-social cultural weekly of the Iasi Country Committee for Socialist Culture and Education, in Romanian, has undergone several changes in recent months. The mastheads in the 9 November 1979 and 16 November 1979 issues reveal a change in the composition of the editorial board. The masthead in the 9 November 1979 issue reads: Liviu Leonte, chief editor; Andi Andries, assistant chief editor; Stefan Oprea, secretary, while the masthead in the 16 November 1979 issue reads as follows: Ion Taranu, chief editor; Stefan Oprea, assistant chief editor; Mihai Dumitru, secretary. In January 1980, the editorial staff was further expanded and now includes Paul Balahur and Vasile Constantinescu, as members of the staff with no specified duties. Also, the size of the pages of the review has increased and the back page has been devoted to the feature "Chronicle of the World" dealing with cultural developments in foreign countries, often with connections to Romania, such as the review in the 15 February issue of a Polish book on the history of the Romanian people. [Editorial Report]

CSO: 2700

STATUS OF CATHOLIC CHURCH IN SLOVENIA, CROATIA

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 14 Feb 80 p 12

[Article by Viktor Meier: "The Party's Only Ideological Competitor--What Is Happening to the Church in Slovenia and Croatia"]

[Text] Zagreb, February--In accordance with a tradition which has developed in the past few years, representatives of the religious communities were received by the republican authorities in Zagreb and Ljubljana in mid-January. In Slovenia the head of the Church Office, Kolman, was the host; in Croatia it was the president of the republican parliament (Sabor), Jure Bilic. Except for the fact that at one time he had been the public prosecutor in the trial against Archbishop Stepinac, probably even Jakov Blazevic, president of the State Presidium of Croatia and thus the highest dignitary of the republic, would have been the host. The differing protocol priorities of the host. The differing protocol priorities of the occasion reflect the differing difficulties particularly with the Catholic Church.

Fear of Open Struggle Between Church and State

Both receptions took place in outward harmony, with only covert stabs being exchanged. This despite the fact that both in Croatia and in Slovenia the past year had been characterized by the church forcefully stepping out of its disparaged position. The communist regime displayed a certain nervousness. But by its "normal" arrangement of the annual receptions it made it known at the same time that it did not want to risk an open struggle between state and church in either one of the republics.

In Slovenia it looked as late as in December as if the regime was heading for a conflict. Police searched the home of an employee of the church journal DRUZINA named Kriznik, who at the same time is studying theology and working on his doctor's thesis in Munich. They confiscated academic materials, personal letters and other papers. Despite promises to the contrary, nothing has been returned, and complaints have remained unanswered. Searches of homes were also conducted in the case of some Slovenian lay activists. As yet no one has been indicted, however. It seems that what triggered the police measures was a course in theology for lay Catholics in

November, attended by about 800 Slovene Catholics, which among other things extensively discussed Catholic social doctrine and the entitlement of the faithful to equal rights in society. The regime dislikes lay courses.

This conference had been preceded by even more important events. On 18 October 5,000 Slovenes had taken part in a pilgrimage to Rome, where they were also received by the pope. And in a supplement to its 18 November issue the journal DRUZINA published eight pages of replies by four professors of the Catholic Theological Faculty of Ljubljana to a school textbook about ethics and morality written 2 years ago by a certain Professor Rus and approved officially by the responsible party and state authorities. This reply had long been scheduled to appear, and the timing of it was evidently interpreted as an additional demonstration. Prof Torne Stres replied to what the Marxist textbook author had written about the role of man as producer and person. Prof Franc Perko scored the "atheization" in state schools, describing it as a violation of the principle of equality proclaimed in the constitution. Prof Stefan Steiner rejected charges according to which the church throughout history had always been on the side of the oppressors and never on that of the oppressed. Prof Franc Rode dealt with Rus' concepts about the origin and role of religion. All in all, the DRUZINA supplement presented a complete summary of Catholic moral, social and historical teaching, which normally the church cannot easily expound in public.

The reaction of the authorities was what one might have expected it to be. Even a leading member of the Yugoslav party Presidium, Stane Dolanc, attacked DRUZINA--which, incidentally, with a circulation of 105,000 is the most widespread publication in Slovenia. In order to show "good will," however, the authorities in January indicted the editorial staff of the student journal TELEX for allegedly having insulted the pope, a foreign head of state, in the publication of an interview with the Italian journalist Oriana Fallaci.

#### 200,000 at Nin Gathering

In the discussion with the regime, the Catholic Church in Slovenia primarily raises the question of civil rights--i.e., equal rights for the faithful in state and society. As far back as last summer, Archbishop of Ljubljana Pogacnik took occasion to give his views on this question. Except perhaps in the coastal area which was part of Italy before the war, the church has never enjoyed a monopoly or even a predominant position in this republic as regards representation of national interests. In Slovenia the polarization in the civil war under the occupation in World War II is having its aftereffect. It is a domestic political contrast in which both sides immediately react with sensitivity when something fundamental is made an issue of--with cries of "clericalism" on one side and of "Stalinism" on the other.

By contrast the Catholic Church in Croatia has become the representative of the national idea because here the regime evidently cannot cope with the

national question. This results in a different attitude of the communist authorities--one much more cautious and at certain levels even based on secret agreement, perhaps with the afterthought that one day it might be a good thing to have the church after all. The conflict is carried out more broadly than in Slovenia. In Croatia the Nin gathering of early September, attended by 200,000 people--surprisingly successful for the church--is having its aftereffect. Concerning this aspect, a couple of personages of the regime with slightly differing roles had something to say at the year's end. Blazevic, president of the Republic of Croatia, in almost threatening tones spoke about nationalist elements hiding behind the church, even including some opposed to the integrity of Yugoslavia. Bakaric, on the other hand, in a posture of elder statesman, professed "optimism" about the relations between state and church. Wasn't it true, he asked appeasingly, that there had long since ceased to be any "atheism" or atheistic propaganda? He complained about factious people in one's own ranks, which many interpreted as criticism also addressed to the Slovene communists. True, there continues to be petty chicanery in Croatia--for example, now concerning the renovation of the cathedral in Zagreb, where under the pretense of protection of historic monuments. Virtually impossible payments are being imposed on the church.

Both in Slovenia and in Croatia the regime apparently has realized that fighting the church openly has become risky. On the other hand, there is a fear lest the church carry the conceded religious freedom from the churches into the open and take a competitive stand with its teachings. This is what the church wants-- not to be locked behind church walls. In Slovenia the regime then resorts to political defamation ("clericalism"), while in Croatia an attempt is made with warnings that the church really should behave in the spirit of the Vatican Council (as was also the opinion of Bakaric and Blazevic) and not disturb the peace of the faithful. In addition an attempt is made to take advantage of intrachurch differences. In Slovenia even the episcopate is not in agreement; in Croatia there exists, among other things, the question of the "Theological Society," an association founded in accordance with public law about 3 years ago to make possible the operation of a Catholic publishing house. Some of the bishops are afraid that this society might be able to escape the control of the episcopate. In socialist Yugoslavia the churches are the only organizations openly advocating a non-Marxist ideology. The fact that they are becoming more prominent confronts the regime with difficulties.

8790

CSO: 2300

## ORGANIZATIONS DISCUSS COLLECTIVE WORK, RESPONSIBILITY

[AU221925 Editorial Report AU] Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian on 20 February carries several news items that refer to President Tito's "initiative for advancing collective work, decisionmaking and responsibility." On page one it carries a 150-word text of the telegram sent to President Tito by members of the Federal Committee of the Federation of Associations of Veterans of the National Liberation War of Yugoslavia. In this telegram members of the committee inform President Tito that on 19 February they held the fifth session of their committee in Belgrade "to implement, both in all organizations of their federation and in its federal leadership, your initiative for advancing collective work, decisionmaking and responsibility" and to determine their concrete tasks in the economic stabilization and in all-people's defense and social self-protection.

On page three BORBA carries a 400-word report by D. Soha on the 19 February session of the Federal Committee of the Federation of Associations of Veterans of the National Liberation War of Yugoslavia which "discussed the directions, activities and immediate tasks of veterans' organizations in the advancement of collective work, decisionmaking and responsibility and the introduction of 1-year term of office for the position of president." In his introductory speech at the session Kosta Nadj, president of the committee, "especially stressed the role and the tasks of the Federation of Associations of Veterans of the National Liberation War of Yugoslavia in implementing Comrade Tito's initiative for advancing collective work, decisionmaking and responsibility" and said that the veterans' federation and its federal committee should further continue to change their methods of work to insure full realization of Tito's initiative.

On page one BORBA also carries a 120-word text of telegram to President Tito from the 19 February formal meeting of the Workers Council of the BORBA working collective on the occasion of the 58th anniversary of "the revolutionary activity of BORBA." The council says in its telegram among other things: "Your ideas and work, dear Comrade Tito, are our permanent road sign and obligation to even more consistently and resolutely struggle for the realization of your visionary ideas, messages and initiatives."

On page four BORBA carries a 400-word report by Fehmija Nikocevic on the 19 February session of the Republican Committee of the Federation of Reserve

Military Officers of Bosnia-Herzegovina in Sarajevo. It was stated at the session that in 1980 the Federation of Reserve Military Officers would continue "its activity in implementing Tito's initiative for advancing collective work and responsibility and introducing the 1-year term of office for the position of president or chairman." Milan Simisic, vice president of the Republican Committee, reported at the session that "Tito's initiative has been widely accepted and supported within the organization" of reserve military officers of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian on 20 February, on page eight, carries a 980-word TANJUG report on the session of the Central Committee Presidium of the League of Communists of Serbia on the tasks of the League of Communists in implementing Tito's initiative for advancing collective work and responsibility. The report has been filed separately as AU211934 (Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 20 Feb--SFRY: Serbian LC Presidium Discusses Collective Work, Responsibility).

Cso: 2800

## YUGOSLAVIA

### WEST GERMAN CORRESPONDENT EXPELLED FOR TUDJMAN INTERVIEW

[Editorial Report] The 22 February 1980 issue of the West German daily DIE WELT (Bonn) reports (page 2) that on 20 February Peter Miroshnikov, ARD correspondent, was expelled from Yugoslavia. He had been expelled earlier on 20 January after interviewing Franjo Tudjman for Bavarian television, but his tapes, film, and notes were confiscated as he boarded a Zagreb-Munich flight. He returned to Yugoslavia in February, telephoned Tudjman on 19 February and was expelled the next morning.

The DIE WELT article says: "Tudjman served in the Partisan struggle under Tito, rose to the rank of general, and was very popular after the war. In 1971 he fell into disgrace, however, and spent 9 months in prison for 'nationalistic intrigue.' He now lives in retirement on full pension. In the 45-minute interview taped in mid-January, he expressed concern over Yugoslavia's situation after Tito, since the Soviet Union could be tempted to change the strategic situation in the Balkans. Tudjman expected greater pressure on Bulgaria, Romania, and Hungary.

CSO: 2300

**AIR FORCE COMMANDER ROGLIC ON NEED FOR MODERNIZATION**

Belgrade NARODNA ARMIJA in Serbo-Croatian 20 Dec 79 pp 8-9

[Article by Lt Col-Gen Stevan Roglic of the Air Force and Air Defense: "Modernization as a Function of Military Readiness"]

In his introductory remarks, prepared for the NARODNA ARMIJA forum, the commanding officer said, among other things:

[Text] It is well known that Air Force and Air Defense [AF and AD] units, like units in the other branches of the Yugoslav People's Army and Territorial Defense, are continually modernizing and are achieving extraordinary success in this respect.

In connection with this, I would like to state that our air force at the time of the National Liberation War differed in many respects from the postwar air force, which was characterized by combat planes and other aircraft powered by piston engines as well as personnel trained accordingly, just as the postwar air force was a far cry from the present-day AF and AD, which includes most modern supersonic aircraft, AD rocket units, Air Control and Warning units [ACW], and others, as well as the personnel who build, maintain, and utilize these facilities militarily and in other ways. And one more thing. I think that there is no doubt that the present-day AF and AD, which in any case are among the most modern military organizations of their kind in the world, will not be much like the ones we are going to create in the foreseeable future.

All this is understandable if one keeps in mind that modernization, which is continually at the center of our attention and efforts, influences most directly and to the greatest possible extent the military readiness of the AF and AD units.

Therefore, we must not consider modernization in isolation, but solely as a function of military readiness which above all consists of:

- the quality and quantity (level of development) of the material and technical base, especially military and other technical hardware, and the infrastructure, and

- the quality (level of technical training, moral and political awareness, etc.) of the people who carry out the policy of the LCY, and who maintain the material and technical base and who use it militarily.

Of course, these two major components of military readiness must be completely coordinated, developed, and channelled so as to match their intended purposes, i.e., prevent any aggressor in all situations from doing what he wishes and intends to accomplish and is objectively capable of doing.

What has been done recently to modernize AF and AD units in all areas of their combat readiness is commendable, so I wish to say something more about it and about what remains to be done.

In the area of material and technical modernization, a very well developed and costly infrastructure has been constructed (airports, firing positions for rocket and anti-aircraft units, sites for ACW units, warehouses for fuel and lubricants, combat and technical equipment, etc., command center locations, communications systems, maintenance and production facilities, engineering for all this, etc.), which can already respond to the demands of nationwide defensive warfare, for which not only we soldiers of Comrade Tito's Army are preparing but also the entire citizenry of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Moreover, all of our units are equipped with modern combat and other technical equipment produced domestically and imported (airplanes, rocket weaponry for the AD, combat and ACW hardware, communication equipment, and so on).

One can say that the material and technical modernization of AF and AD units is being accomplished quite successfully, and that no special problems exist, especially regarding the lower commands and units. To be more specific, I think that almost nothing is lacking in this area of military readiness.

But this material base, especially the military technical hardware, does not--how should I say it?--radiate omnipotence, particularly if we do not accompany it, or do not adequately accompany it, with all our knowledge, skill, and resolve. In order to thwart an enemy in an act of aggression if he resorts to it, or to beat him and be victorious, we must be more organized, better trained for combat, more powerful in an ideological/political sense, more disciplined, more capable physically and readier than he is to sacrifice everything for the defense and victory of our ideas.

This means, in other words, that we must continually bring ourselves and our ideas up to date; this has been and must continue to be, in truth, our greatest preoccupation. I wish to say that indeed much has been done to modernize our personnel, i.e., to update ourselves and bring the quality of our technical training, ideological/political awareness, working abilities, and other attributes, command, and the organization of all aspects of life and work into harmony with the flow and level of the material and technical modernisation of our units.

Specifically, our officers, soldiers, and civilian employees, communists, and youth, people in staff and command duties, pilots, rocket personnel, ACW personnel, members of the signal corps, technicians and mechanics of various specializations, engineers, school teachers, and others have put in a tremendous amount of work and have mastered the maintenance and military and technical operation of all that is called new and contemporary in the material and technical base of our units. Much has been done, in other words, to update our personnel at the troops level, in school, in the repair shop, and elsewhere.

However, in connection with this I wish to cite a few details which seem to me to be of interest.

It seems to be fairly easy to notice that seniors and servicemen, especially in certain units (squadrons, companies, battalions, air force bases, regiments, and even divisions), are objectively able to influence the material and technical modernization of our units, in a certain sense and to a certain degree, very little.

At the same time, modernization in these and similar units is the easiest to accomplish. Because, to be more thorough and precise, our workman gives, in the proper sense of the word, the equipment to the units and entrusts to them its operation. Therefore, the participation of these people in this area is, I should say, significantly less than it may perhaps appear to some. Accordingly, their part in this respect ought to involve, and in fact does involve, among other things, influencing the selection of technical resources at the time of purchase, the construction of individual elements of the infrastructure, and the organization of classrooms, training grounds, and various instructional aids and methods; and I want especially to emphasize this: that they properly understand, interpret, and present for evaluation their personal problems, primarily material problems, which are conditioned by the modernization of their units and of our army and armed forces as a whole.

I have already said that human beings comprise the second and undoubtedly most important component in the modernization, i.e., additional combat build-up, of our units. All aspects of combat readiness are dependent in the most direct way upon the general status of personnel, i.e., their level of specialized training, their Marxist education, their political/party awareness, and their skill in maintaining this highly modern material-technical base and especially in operating this equipment for combat purposes. Accordingly we may safely say that the significance and role of human beings and especially of the moral factor cannot be supplanted by anything else, including the material-technical factor, whether in nationwide defensive warfare or in deterring aggression now in peacetime.

Therefore, I think that for the people in the units that we are concerned with, modernization is nothing more than the continual and systematic training, education, and involvement in the work of carrying out functional

duties. In the same way, those involved with modernization must be imbued, so to speak, with an innovative and problem-solving spirit; this includes active participation in military and other journals (KRILA ARMIJE, NARODNA ARMIJA, GLASNIK RV I PVO); preserving the material and financial resources which are allotted to them (money, lighting, water, supplies, aircraft, radar, and rocket systems, clothing and footwear, food items); the safeguarding of items which are entrusted to them, etc. In a word, modernization must, in its own way, take hold of all areas of their lives and their work. This means in party work, security, self-protection, order and discipline, technical pursuits, cultural, amusement, and sport activities, everything that helps to better the military readiness of their units, continually at a high level.

In any case, we must proceed from the idea that everyone must participate in modernization, from the most senior officer to the common soldier.

One cannot be considered a good communist (soldier, officer, civilian employee) if he personally, or the unit (sector) he manages (to which he belongs), is not combat-ready. Communists must develop and fulfill their political, activity above all by high-quality and effective training and education-first in their unit, including military modernization.

From what I have said so far, one can conclude that our obligations in the area of modernizing AF and AD units and institutions are different, depending on the level of the environment to which we belong.

Thus, for example, the higher one goes (from the lower to the higher commands and units), the obligations in relation to material and technical modernization grow rapidly and--so to speak--in reverse proportion. What is more, the bulk, if not almost all activities related to this devolve only upon the highest commands of the respective institution (AF and AD Command, Federal Ministry of Defense).

As far as the modernization of people is concerned, I think that the obligations are different in content but identical in terms of responsibility in relation to officers, all soldiers and civilian employees of the AF and AD.

In my opinion, this is especially important to differentiate and to recognize, above all so that we can properly direct our efforts and realistically appraise the success we achieve in the modernization of the units (collectives) which are entrusted to us. This is especially true in the AF and AD, the most costly branch of the Yugoslav People's Army, where material and technical modernization is present to the highest degree.

It follows from all this that individual modernization is the permanent and most important obligation of all officers, soldiers, and civilian employees of the AF and the AD.

With this great obligation we enter the new year of 1980.

## STATE OF DISCIPLINE IN MILITARY SERVICES EXAMINED

### AWOL Problem

Belgrade NARODNA ARMIJA in Serbo-Croatian 25 Oct 79 p 3

[Article by S. Sikavica: "The Other Side of the Gate Pass"]

[Text] Absence From the Garrison Without Leave Can Be Reduced to a Negligible Proportion if All Factors for Indoctrination and Education Are Brought To Bear in the Units in the Best Way

When a chronicler looks at the documentation, it seems to him that there is nothing more to say about soldiers leaving the garrison without leave. For the simple reason: everything has been said on that topic.

Yet if we go to the units and examine various records and listen to disciplinary "reports"--it is precisely that topic which crops up once again.

This is, then, that "eternal" problem which will probably be encountered even by commanders and commanding officers and party secretaries and aides to the commanding officers for moral and political education and indoctrination even when our garrisons no longer have anything in common with military garrisons in the old conventional sense.

### By Way of Introduction

Absence from the garrison without leave, as we have said, has always been a feature of life on the military post. In spite of that statement, we must also state another truth: servicemen's willful acts of this kind (and indeed of other kinds) have never detracted from the moral and political level in any serious way, nor from the combat value of any of our units. Moreover, it is only in certain units that it has been a certain hindrance, so that the peacetime tasks of those units were not carried out in the manner and to the extent of our desires and needs. And this is a sufficient reason for this topic to be on the agenda of various meetings in the YPA.

We have also had investigative efforts related to this problem area, and they have, of course, yielded certain conclusions.

However, as far as we know, we have not had any comprehensive study of this group of problems (though in the armed forces today there are quite a few social scientists with even the highest academic titles). It is obvious that the topic is serious and will not tolerate arbitrary conclusions, which means that it should be thoroughly researched on a scientific and, to use scientific language, an interdisciplinary basis.

What would, say, a comparative analysis in this connection show us? The trend of this type of infraction in a military district in the first, second and third decade of the development of our armed forces, the extent to which the phenomenon has been affected by the very rapid influx of population to the cities from rural areas, rapid urbanization, the pace of life, the rise of the standard of living in general, and, in particular, the rise in the standard of living of servicemen, and so on.

Another large area for researchers is the post itself. What relation exists, for example, between this problem and the manner of command and direction, the involvement of factors concerned with indoctrination and education, the organization of extracurricular activities, etc.

Finally, it would be worthwhile to find the right answer to the question: Why in most of our units does this problem not exist or has it been reduced to negligible proportions, while in certain units on the other hand it crops up year after year?

#### Illustration One

As for the latter two questions, that is, the relationship between AWOL and the conditions and organization of life on the post--experience itself has offered some fairly reliable answers. In a recent meeting Gen Maj Svetožar Oro, for instance, gave a striking example of the relationship between the level of involvement of all factors in education and indoctrination in units and the AWOL problem. First of all, he said that the number of soldiers AWOL from posts in the Ljubljana Military District was considerably lower this year than at the same time last year. (This is the case, incidentally, throughout the YPA, which was also authoritatively reported recently.) If the number of cases of AWOL in the Ljubljana Military District this January is given the index number 10, then the number in February would be 6, in March 3, in April 2, and then in May it dropped to a negligible "fraction"--less than 1. (However, in July the index number already showed a certain tendency to increase.) General Oro says that this success resulted from a broad, thoroughly prepared and deliberate effort by all factors in indoctrination and education. The decline in the scope and quality of the effort in the summer months the general attributed to the fact that some of the officers were on vacation. We repeat once again: we are talking about a military district and not any lower unit. That makes the success we speak of all the more noteworthy. It is more than a reliable

success we speak of all the more noteworthy. It is more than a reliable indicator that when all the factors in indoctrination and education, the so-called subjective factors in the life and work of the units, are properly involved, then there is no problem with AWOL.

#### Illustration Two

The unit commanded by Zoran Stojkovic is one of those which for years has had no AWOL soldiers or only a few cases a year. Stojkovic's unit is not numerically small, nor is it manned with selected soldiers, nor again does it have any exceptional material capabilities. In all respects it is just another average unit.

How, then, has Stojkovic managed to delete AWOL from the "list" of disciplinary infractions?

What is involved is simply the exceptionally good functioning of command and direction and equally good organization of all aspects of life in the unit. We admit that this answer is put in general terms, but it would take us a great deal of space to describe in detail everything that comes under this head. We will briefly discuss just one dimension: the organization and way of life of the soldiers in the afternoon, which is when servicemen most frequently decide to leave the post by forbidden routes.

Let us start with the way their post is arranged. It really does not resemble a garrison in any respect and it is simply a pity that we cannot overcome traditionalism and find some better and more suitable name for this fine military residence. Anyone who visited it even just a few years ago will remember that it wasn't anything like the way it is today. Yet nothing which they have come to them from the sky, nor have they had any privilege in obtaining funds. Successive generations of soldiers have built and completed the entire settlement with their own sweat, and it now resembles a summer colony. The author of these lines asked at least some 30 soldiers of the current generation how they felt and what they thought of this place where they do their soldiering? More than 90 percent of them said without hesitation and almost with pride: we like it and we feel good about it. When we add that the soldiers have a good servicemen's club, the recently opened "museum" of the unit, quite a few classrooms and athletic fields, this means that they have somewhere to go for entertainment, to play, and to study. None of this (entertainment, play and study) takes place haphazardly, but is organized in detail, which means that everyone knows exactly who is to do what, where and when. There are, of course, times when servicemen need to go to town on workdays (some of them). No one stands in the way of their reasonable desires. In other words, the soldiers have no need to look for holes in the fence and to slip into town without a gate pass. The only ones who still might do this are boys who are not all there or who went wrong before entering the YPA. But there is even a remedy for them in the community we are speaking about. Yet that remedy is not usually referred to as punishment by any means. In that

respect the military collectivity truly has an indispensable role. Without them this could not be achieved. This is the fact that some people tend to forget or neglect. Too bad.

#### Conference in Skopje District

Belgrade NARODNA ARMIJA in Serbo-Croatian 22 Nov 79 p 5

[Article by Lj. Stojadinovic: "Discipline--An Important Factor in Training"]

[Text] A High Grade for Its Moral and Political Level Should Not Distract the Attention of Commands and Units From So-Called "Little Things" Which Concern the Violation of Discipline

A 2-day meeting of the top officers of the Skopje Military District concerning order and discipline, which was directed by Gen Lt Col Lambe Mihajlovski, made no claim to provide new answers to the questions which are already well known. Put most succinctly, the purpose was to take a new, longer and better quality step toward essential improvement of one of the essential elements of the everyday life and experience of the soldier.

The meeting, which was very well prepared and organized and had elements which made it not only comprehensive, but even all-inclusive, demonstrated at the very outset that there are no problems in the life of units which do not affect discipline. Conversely, discipline is not merely a term which the commanding officer uses when it is violated, but arises out of training and is an integral part of its quality. It is therefore no surprise if the conclusion was again reached that violations of discipline occur most frequently in those moments when there is more free time. In spite of all the analyses to date, this problem obviously requires the greatest possible attention on a constant basis. And the elements for a more thorough analysis seem in part to have been given at that same meeting.

#### Bringing the City to the Post

Good training, which means training that has been soundly prepared and professionally carried out, gives people the highest motivation regardless of the efforts it requires. There are few violations of discipline in places where training is conducted every day in this manner.

There have been cases, however, where certain officers, mainly young ones, have mistakenly pursued the direction of some "discipline" of their own. Or they have become concerned with individual cases and have forgotten the collectivity, or, on the other hand, their criteria of order overlook the dignity of their subordinates.

"There is no discipline without respect for the personality of others," Gen Mihajlovski emphasized. "The awareness of our people is very high.

They fully understand their role and the need to express themselves even in the most difficult situations. We deserve part of the credit for having made them that way, though we should not forget that people's high devotion to the country and their work is a consequence of the climate in our socialist self-managed society. We therefore cannot merely take credit for what is good, but must also assume responsibility for what is not what it should be. Indoctrinating people, then, means respecting their personality, honoring their opinions and feeling affection for them."

Consequently, when violations of order and discipline do occur, especially in the afternoon hours, the most important thing to do, it was stressed at the meeting, is to thoroughly analyze and find the causes of the situation and do everything that can be done to prevent infractions. The reference here is above all to the question of how attractive life on the post is for the young men and what are all the things that should be done to make the soldier feel comfortable in the servicemen's club, at events prepared by his comrades and young people from the nearby school or work organization?

Now that we have mentioned events, two extremes have been noted: poor organization and the desire for spectacular effects, that is, the effort to put on performances at a high professional level, which is difficult to organize under the conditions that prevail on the post, where they do not have the effect that they would if they were performed in the city, where the technical capabilities are far greater.

#### Behavior on the Street

There are also certain problems with people's behavior in public places. To be sure, the situation in this respect is not such that we need to sound the alarm, though there are cases which, to put it mildly, are quite unpleasant.

There are few officers who in civilian clothes on the streets or in any public place will reprimand a serviceman if he acts in an unseemly way, though, it was stressed, that is their duty. This should not be looked on as doing "someone else's job," as some say, but it is simply a case in which the servicemen should understand that in town they are seen by many people, including officers.

It was therefore one of the conclusions of the meeting and one of the tasks which it set itself that all individuals in military uniforms should again behave properly on the streets. But this is not a task of superior officers alone, though it belongs to them above all, nor is it only a matter of those on duty and the military police, but it is a job for all officers. The behavior of military personnel in public places is only a part of their overall behavior, which can and certainly does have an impact on people's work, and that means on the training of units as well.

## Situation in Zagreb District

Belgrade FRONT in Serbo-Croatian 14 Dec 79 pp 8-9

[Article by S. Arsic: "Everyone Has His Own Responsibility"]

[Text] A 6-month analysis of morale and the political climate in the Zagreb Military District has shown that the units have achieved notable success. Though collectives have performed a considerably larger number of tasks than in the same period of last year--they do not have a single person in their ranks who has been punished. This was a good enough reason for us to ask in our talk with members of those units for an answer to the question: How is superb discipline achieved?

The anniversary year of the party, of SKOJ [Communist Youth League of Yugoslavia] and of the revolutionary trade unions is itself a kind of incentive for achieving still more significant results in all areas of the life and work of the members of our armed forces. A recent conference on morale and the political climate in the Zagreb Military District put the emphasis on maturity, ideological and political consciousness and class commitment of its personnel, or more concretely: their consistent effort to perform the tasks set at the 11th LCY Congress. The participants in the conference took note that morale and the political climate are very good and that the number of incentives has increased along with a reduction of mistakes and shortcomings. One out of every three servicemen in the district has received commendation, an award or a decoration. The League of Communists enrolled 1,500 new members, and 396 soldiers received the highest enlisted man's decoration--the badge "Exemplary Soldier." The high level of ideological and political consciousness, of community spirit and of solidarity with the working people of the country have been shown by the members of the Zagreb Military District in important public campaigns as well--offering material aid to the population of the Montenegrin coast and collection of money for Tito's Fund.

The 6-month analysis of morale and the political climate singled out the units of Adolf Temisanovic and Milijanko Markovic, whose personnel, though they carried out a considerably larger number of tasks than in the same period of last year, achieved a notable success--in their ranks there is not a single soldier who has been punished. These are obviously exceptionally disciplined and industrious collectives which have achieved top-level results under field conditions. This was a sufficient reason for us to go to those units to answer the question: How is soldierly discipline achieved in practice?

## Responsibility--Above All

To put it figuratively, no one ever trips over a mountain, but stumbles on an ordinary stone. But this "ordinary stone" is sometimes negligence, sometimes forgetfulness, thoughtlessness, or, to put it simply, a lapse of responsibility. Unfortunately, the result is always a breach of regulations and rules, and that inflicts damage on the individual and the entire collectivity.

This has been a topic of frequent reflection and debate in the units of Adolf Temisanovic and Milijanko Markovic. And now there is no one who has been punished, and a survey of the incentives shows that the members of these units were awarded 22 "Exemplary Soldier" badges, 28 young men were enrolled in the League of Communists, 60 furloughs were granted as rewards, and 96 written commendations were presented. And there is something else--quite a few other units who have taken advantage of their services also praised the personnel of these two model collectivities. The thing that is very essential is that the soldiers in this unit carry out most tasks mostly on an independent basis and without the officers being present. They explained the results achieved in the units with few words: everyone has his share of the responsibility and obligations.

## The Result Is the Standard by Which Discipline Is Measured

It is well known that the essence of true discipline and responsibility is manifested and confirmed in everyday work. This means that everyone does his work tasks as well as he can every day, not out of fear of the punishment which might ensue because of lack of discipline, but from an awareness that this is the only proper attitude. Discipline, then, presupposes a high awareness of the importance of even the most minor job: an awareness of community spirit and how successful performance of the tasks of the collective depend on the disciplined and responsible behavior of each individual. No punishment and no threat can replace a man's conviction that his attitude toward his work is crucial as to whether he will contribute to the common cause or grievously detract from it. It is extremely important that discipline be firm, that it be daily, and that it be present everywhere where people live and work and carry on their activities.

That is what Adolf Temisanovic, an officer whose unit has served as an example for years, says about the outlook in his collectivity.

But the most accurate indicator of the results of this attitude toward discipline is combat training. The members of both units fully concur in this; after all, as they themselves emphasized, when combat training is conducted correctly and carried out consistently, it is a kind of impetus for every member of the collectivity to show all his creative abilities in carrying out his everyday tasks.

"When after a 6-month stay in the armed forces I think about discipline, I inevitably conclude: everything begins and ends with training. From the first day we get into the habit of being precise, of being conscientious about our work and obligations.... Today it is unthinkable for my comrades and me to be late for formation ... to return late from town ... to carry out an order superficially ... or to 'sandbag.'"

That is what Ranko Krstajic had to say about discipline.

Here is what his friend Moma Markovic says:

"Discipline, to put it figuratively, is a strong chain whose links are combat training, mutual relations, meaningfulness and diversity of extracurricular activities, consciousness of belonging to a people's army, the opportunity for affirmation and creativity on the part of us servicemen, the personal example of officers: their approach and attitude toward us is crucial to whether we will want to direct our creative potential toward the good of the collective or.... From the first day in our unit we were offered an opportunity to prove ourselves and affirm ourselves, primarily through carrying out the curriculum and syllabus. All the rest was superstructure, a logical continuation of purposive everyday work with people."

Damir Novak agrees with those we have quoted above:

"When the nature of the job is such that negligence or slackness can cause accidents with unforetold consequences, then it is natural for responsibility and self-discipline to be developed constantly in the armed forces. And the easiest road to achievement of that self-discipline lies through combat training."

It clearly follows from the responses of these young men that wherever training is inconsistent, superficial and poorly organized--there will also be more mistakes and shortcomings.

"Soldiers have exceptional opportunities for creativity," says Predrag Vuckovic, "and it is our obligation to make it possible for them to 'take flight' and affirm and prove themselves through their efforts. Aside from combat training, this can also be done through a broad range of extracurricular activities for which we have sufficient time, space, resources and personnel. A special place in the development of this activity belongs to the youth organization and to committees for extracurricular activities. They are responsible for this work; they present the proposals, plan it, organize it and carry it out. Our place is to support and encourage them."

Milan Loncar holds a similar opinion.

"We try to fill the free time of the soldiers with very worthwhile content. It is our aim that every soldier be an active participant in the work of the 20 sections.

"It is obvious that so-called 'free' activities, if they are properly directed, have an impact on the general climate in the unit. In other words, we need to create in the collectivity the kind of atmosphere in which every member of the unit has his own share of the responsibility. We believe that this is the step which leads toward exemplary discipline. The key question concerning morale and the political climate is the attitude of each individual toward his work and toward all tasks related to the constant rise of combat preparedness. The results at the work station, behavior in practice, and the quality of tasks performed--these are the principal factors which can and must test the knowledge, abilities and capabilities of every individual."

#### What Hinders Discipline?

The nonuniformity of criteria, different approaches to the same obligations, the "watering down" of the regulations in effect ... we might enumerate many other shortcomings which tend to detract from discipline and which were mentioned in our conversations by members of the collectivities of Temisanovic and Markovic. We will discuss only one of them: the different approach to the same tasks and obligations.

Milivoj Ignjatic, ensign, an experienced officer, one of those who has behind him many generations of soldiers he has trained and equipped, came to some necessary conclusions about the "uniformity" of enforcement of rules and regulations in reflecting on the achievement of discipline in the collective.

"When regulations are not uniformly enforced on the same post, this has an adverse effect on the knowledge and conceptions of the soldiers concerning the need for uniform enforcement of certain measures. Take, for example, leading the formation. Whereas some officers abide by the regulations, others allow themselves the 'luxury' of having the formation led by corporals, sergeants in training or privates first class. Much the same is the case with morning calisthenics--the platoon commanders are frequently missing from in front of the formation. There are quite a few examples, but certainly those which are most pronounced and have the most serious consequences are those pertaining to neglect of regulations in the conduct of combat training. This is in fact stated at meetings even by the soldiers themselves, embarrassedly to be sure."

Zdravko Indjic agrees with Ignjatic's opinion and adds:

"It is dangerous to discipline when the soldier's word is not respected or valued. I say this on the basis of experience, on the basis of what I see and hear in our garrison every day. A soldier speaks freely, with good intentions, and, if I can put it this way, as a self-manager. No one should shut him up or neglect him."

To conclude: discipline in these two collectives has been made a part of the unit's combat readiness. This is the explanation as to why there are fewer and fewer shortcomings, mistakes and lapses in the collectives of Temisanovic and Markovic. When cases are analyzed, they are corrected on the spot through constructive, free and open exchange of opinions. The prevailing motto in those units is this: leave nothing until tomorrow. That this is the only correct way is in fact confirmed by the analysis of morale and the political climate, for which these collectives receive due recognition from the top officers of the Zagreb Military District.

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